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## The role of international organizations in affecting human trafficking policy

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The role of international organizations in affecting human trafficking policy

by

Simisola Oluyomi Fasehun

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Program of Study Committee:

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2006

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This is to certify that the master's thesis of

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has met the thesis requirements of Iowa State University

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

One prevalent problem that is receiving growing international attention is the issue of human trafficking. Women and children are increasingly trafficked within and across borders. Traffickers draw in women and girls through false promises of decent working conditions such as relatively well paid jobs as nannies, maids, dancers, factory workers, restaurant workers, sales clerks, or models. Traffickers also buy children from poor families and sell them into prostitution or into various types of forced or bonded labor (The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (VTVPA 2000), 2000, p. 4). In our increasingly connected world, trafficking has multiplied in both magnitude and in reach. According to the 2002 report on combating trafficking by United Nations Development Fund for Women, “trafficking grew by almost 50 percent from 1995 to 2000” (Heyzer, 2002, p. 1). Trafficking has been defined by the United Nations as the modern form of slavery and it is a widespread practice in the contemporary world. An estimated 600,000 to 800,000 people are trafficked across international borders each year; approximately 80 percent are women and girls, and up to 50 percent are minors (U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons 2005, 2005, p. 7).

Numerous international organizations have been created to remedy the problem by attempting to affect anti-trafficking policies. This thesis aims to explore how international organizations are affecting anti-trafficking policies. More specifically, it will focus on four organizations in order to examine what they do, who they meet and negotiate with, whether they have any authority to make policy changes and to implement policies, and what strategies they use. The organizations to be examined are: Polaris Project, Vital Voices, the International Organization for Migration, and the Institute for Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign.

In the following sections of this chapter I will first review relevant literature concerning the definition, types, scope, causes, and effects of human trafficking. I will then



focus on the development of anti-trafficking policies and the different types of international organizations involved in the creation and implementation of such policies.

## **Literature Review**

### **Definition of Human Trafficking**

In response to the fact that trafficking is a problem that plagues all countries, “an international definition of trafficking emerged in December 2000 with the signing of the UN *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons* in Palermo, Italy” (Gozdziak, 2005, p.103). The United Nations Protocol defines trafficking in persons as:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. The minimum requirements of exploitation are prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (U.S. State Department Trafficking Report 2005, 2005, p.11).

Many nations misunderstand this definition by overlooking internal trafficking or forms of labor trafficking in their national legislation, and often fail to distinguish trafficking from illegal migration. In order to fully understand human trafficking, there needs to be a clear differentiation between illegal immigration (human smuggling) and human trafficking. Illegal immigration is defined as

The facilitation, or illegal entry of person(s) across an international border. Human smuggling is generally with the consent of the person(s) being smuggled, who often pay large sums of money and once in the country of their final destination will generally be left to their own devices (The Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center at the U.S. Department of State, 2000, p. 1).



Human smuggling and illegal immigration is often a criminal transaction between two or more willing parties, while trafficking specifically targets the unwilling parties for exploitation. Once illegal immigrants reach their country of destination, they are free to go their separate ways. In some cases illegal immigrants enter “contracts” to work off smuggling debts (The Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center at the U.S. Department of State, 2000, p. 2). U.S. legislators have identified the difficulty in making a distinction between human trafficking and illegal immigration, because trafficking includes elements of illegal immigration, such as the initial smuggling of persons into the country. According to the Immigration and Nationalization Act,

Section 274(a)(1), (2), provides for criminal penalties under Title 8, United States Code, Section 1324, for acts or attempts to bring unauthorized aliens to or into the United States, transport them within the U.S., harbor unlawful aliens, encourage entry of illegal aliens, or conspire to commit these violations, knowingly or in reckless disregard of illegal status (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2006, p.2)

In order to aid differentiation between human trafficking and illegal immigration, the United States Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 2000 (TVPA) requires that severe forms of human trafficking include the following:

1. Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age.
2. The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. These definitions do not require that a trafficked victim be physically transported from one location to another (U.S. State Department 2005, 2005, p.12).

In 2000 the United States Government passed the “Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 to combat trafficking in persons, especially into the sex trade, slavery, and involuntary servitude,” (TVPA, 2000, p. 4). This Act indicated that



Existing legislation and law enforcement in the United States and other countries are inadequate to deter trafficking and bring traffickers to justice. No comprehensive law exists in the United States that penalizes the range of offenses involved in trafficking. Instead, even the most brutal instances of trafficking in the sex industry are often punished under laws that also apply to lesser offenses, so that traffickers typically escape deserved punishment (TVPA, 2000, p. 5).

The TVPA 2000 aims to decrease the incidence of human trafficking, increase prosecution of traffickers, and protect the rights of the trafficked victims. According to the TVPA 2000, victims of severe forms of trafficking are eligible for services under any U.S. Federal or State Program. The law also states that victims “will be provided protection while in the custody of the Federal Government; they shall also have access to information about their rights and translation” (TVPA 2000, p. 15). The 2005 U.S. State Department trafficking report indicates victims may petition to receive T visas, which are “available to victims who have complied with reasonable requests for assistance to investigate or prosecute acts of trafficking”. (U.S. State Department, trafficking report 2005, p. 244). In 2003, the “Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003 was passed to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2004 and 2005 for the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000” (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003 (TVPRA 2003), p.1).

The United Nations estimates that trafficking is a \$7-\$10 billion operation annually with 4 million people being moved from one country to another and within countries (Arlacchi, 2000, p.7). Many commentators from NGOs or governments frequently repeat statistics that are extrapolations from other crime contexts or unverified numbers. This is a consequence of the lack of quantitative data and the enormous difficulty in producing accurate assessments of trafficking (Raymond, 2002).



## **The Flow of Trafficking**

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon. Largely, women and children are trafficked from usually from poor less developed countries (sending countries) of the economic south to richer more developed countries (receiving countries) of the economic north. An ILO report states that

Women and children are trafficked internally and across borders in Central and South America and in West and Central Africa for exploitation in domestic service. People of all ages are trafficked across the land borders of South Asia for work in carpet and garment factories, for street hawking and begging, on construction projects and tea plantations, in manufacturing or brick kilns. In the Middle East and North Africa, women and girls are trafficked to work in domestic service, boys are trafficked into the region to work as camel jockeys (ILO, 2003, p.5)

Due to the hidden nature of human trafficking, it is difficult to gather accurate data on the numbers of people trafficked within and across different world regions; often the data provided by agencies and governments are estimates. An ILA 2004 report estimates that the “largest number of trafficked persons comes from Southeast Asia (over 225,000) and South Asia (150,000)” (p. 7). ILO estimates that between 200,000 and 250,000 women and children are trafficked annually in Southeast Asia (ILO, 2002). The former Soviet Union is the largest new source for trafficking for prostitution and the sex industry. According to the ILA, “more than 100,000 trafficked persons are trafficked from the former Soviet Union and an additional 75,000 from Eastern Europe each year” (ILA, 2004, p.7). Women from Eastern Europe are being trafficked to Western Europe and Central Asia (IOM, 2001).

Western Europe and the North America are destination regions for victims of trafficking coming from poorer less developed countries. “Each year, an estimated 14,500 to 17,500 foreign nationals are trafficked into the United States” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2004, p.1). The largest number of people trafficked into the United States comes from East Asia and the Pacific with 5,000 to 7,000 victims trafficked annually from each region,



followed by 3,500 to 5,500 victims each from Latin America and from Europe and Eurasia (U.S. Departments of Justice, Health & Human Services, State, Labor, Homeland Security, Agriculture, and the U.S. Agency for International Development, 2004).

Compared to Asia, Europe, and North America, data from Africa and Latin America are less available and less reliable. However, Dottridge (2002) estimates that in West and Central Africa approximately 200,000 children are trafficked annually.

### **Types of Trafficking**

There are different types of human trafficking. Victims are trafficked for different types of labor ranging from household servants, to industrial laborers, to child soldiers, to sexual slaves and for prostitution. "Children are forced, often under the threat of death to assist one faction or another to kill, torture, loot or destroy the property of family members or neighbors" (Human Rights Watch, 1992, (HRW 1992), p. 27).

The trafficking of women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation is mainly an international organized crime and is on the rise due to the high profits and minimal risks for the traffickers. Although victims of sex trafficking can be either male or female, "trafficking is largely a gendered issue" (Von Struensee, 2000, p. 2). Sex trafficking of women and children is not a new trend. International laws were drafted in 1949 when the United Nations General Assembly passed the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. The convention states that "prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community" (Von Struensee, 2000, p. 5). Donna Hughes (2000) reported, "trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation is a shadow market valued at US \$7 billion annually" (p. 9). There is a large demand for women and children in the sex industry in the industrialized world; there is also a



ready supply from many developing countries, and countries that have political and economic instability. According to Hughes (2000), thousands of women are being trafficked from developing countries to Western Europe where they are brought into conditions in which their basic human rights are violated.

Due to the secretive and dangerous nature of sex trafficking, it is difficult to know how many women and children have been trafficked for sexual exploitation. Not enough agencies are paying attention to the issue of sex trafficking, and those who are paying attention use different definitions, which ultimately yield varying estimates.

## Methods of Trafficking

Traffickers use various methods to lure victims into situations of sex trafficking.

These include:

- A promise of a good job in another country. Some traffickers advertise job opportunities that require minimum skills, such as nannies, housekeeper, dancers, and waitresses. Donna Hughes (2000) reports that approximately 20% of trafficked women are recruited through advertisements.
- A false marriage proposal turned into a bondage situation (Heyzer, 2002, p 4).
- Being sold into the sex trade by parents, husbands or boyfriends.
- Being kidnapped by traffickers (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Sex Trafficking Fact Sheet 2005)

According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Sex Trafficking Fact Sheet (2005), victims of trafficking are forced into different forms of commercial sexual exploitation such as:

- **Military prostitution, sex tourism, stripping, prostitution and pornography:** Victims trafficked into prostitution and pornography are usually involved in the most exploitive forms of commercial sex operations. Sex trafficking operations can be found in highly visible venues such as street prostitution, as well as more underground systems such as closed-brothels that operate out of residential homes. Sex trafficking also takes place in a variety of public and private locations such as massage parlors, spas, strip clubs and other fronts for prostitution. Victims may start off dancing or



stripping in clubs and then be coerced into situations of prostitution and pornography

- **Mail order brides:** According to a report by the International Organization for Migration (2005), all mail-order bride agencies with women from the former Soviet Union are under the control of organized crime networks. Recruiters use “marriage agencies” to contact women who are eager to travel or emigrate.

There is also a high demand for cheap construction, industrial, and household labor; the demand contributes to the growth in trafficking for these purposes. Willing relocation of the labor force is not a new phenomenon. Until the rise of globalization and the modern nation state, most forms of migration have been voluntary. Most people move from less prosperous areas to the opportunities of more developed areas. Slavery, labor trafficking, forced and bonded labor, debt bondage and other forms of labor exploitation, and the migration of men and women seeking new and perhaps better economic and work opportunities have long been related (Richards, 2004, p.149). Globalization has created a demand for cheap, low skilled labor in developed and developing countries in agriculture, food processing, construction, domestic service, home health care, sex work and the service sector in general (Heyzer, 2002, p. 5). The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates there to be currently upwards of 97 million migrant workers, mainly women and children (ILO, 1999).

A 2002 United Nations Development fund for Women (UNIFEM) report shows that labor migration is now characterized by “feminization”. A reason for the shift from male dominated labor migration to female and child migrants is the ease and economy of this traffic. Young women and children are in particular demand because they are regarded as compliant and less likely to rebel against unbearable working conditions. There is an increase in demand for typical female jobs such as household and care giving work. These jobs are typically low paying and low skilled. Dual career employment in many nations often puts pressures on families, which leads to the demand for low cost household help. According to



Taylor and Jamieson (1999, p. 134), “In many North American conurbations, there is a very significant economy at work in the recruitment and retention of such domestic workers for dual-career households, with many thousands of domestic workers employed at or below minimum rates of pay and without any form of pension, health insurance or other civil rights.”

The numbers of migrants employed as domestic workers in North America in the 1980s and 1990s can be understood as a function of the increased pressures that have been placed on the household, as a result of the emergence of dual-career families and the “time-squeeze” imposed on those families, especially in respect to child care and routine domestic reproduction. Richards (2004) reported that there continues to be an unquenchable demand for trafficked labor from destination countries.

Finally, there is also a large demand for trafficked children used as child soldiers, particularly in areas of conflict. Lisa Hughes (2000) estimated that between 250,000 and 300,000 children around the world currently take an active role in armed conflict. Maxted (2003) reports that the use of child soldiers has increased globally and they are often used in guerilla combat. The reasons for using children in armed conflict vary, but include the facts that children are easily controlled and usually follow directions. Children also respect authority, are cheaper to feed, and do not have to worry about family obligations. Hughes (2000) reported that in some cases of direct combat, adult soldiers have been known to use children in the front lines to deter enemy fire. Furthermore, children are able to handle automatic rifles, machetes, rocks, grenades and small arms used by guerilla groups, which is due in part to technological advances in weapons of warfare. The result is that any person, including a child, is able to handle a weapon successfully without much physical or technical competency. Children have therefore become more useful militarily (Maxted, 2003).



## **Intersections of the Causes of Human Trafficking**

Some of the several factors that contribute to human trafficking intersect regularly and predictably. Civil inequality, and consequently war, based on competition between ethnic, tribal, or religious groups is interwoven with a lag in economic opportunities and infrastructure. “In countries afflicted by protracted struggles for power, social, economic and physical infrastructures are usually weak, and governments are unable to maintain basic public services” (Maxted, 2003, p. 63). In many countries inadequate laws and policies to address trafficking along with open borders promote the flourishing trade. The weakening of community and family protection mechanisms make women and girls vulnerable. The weakening or loss of social support networks leads to victims having less power to escape, defend themselves, or obtain the protection and assistance necessary to survive (Heyzer, 2002, p. 8). Long reports that “in addition to specific cultural practices, periods of famine, depression, and social economic transition place girls and women at increased risk of being trafficked” (Long, 2004, p.14). Socio-economic stress often has negative effects on the most vulnerable groups in a given population, who lack the resources and political capital to cushion the changes.

Trafficking can occur through known corrupt practices aided by consistent negligence. Transportation of trafficking victims is assisted when immigration officials, customs officers, police and law enforcement authorities, and border control authorities accept bribes and turn a blind eye to trafficking of women and children. “Payment of bribes in money, goods, or kind solicits an official to turn a blind eye to improper documentation, or protection against scrupulous checking of vehicles, cargo holders, or vessels holding trafficked migrant workers” (Richards, 2004, p.157). Only a minority of trafficking cases are reported and convictions of traffickers are rare (Von Struensee, 2000). Employers of trafficking victims are capable of bribing police, prosecutors, or magistrates to have the charges dropped (Richards, 2004, p.157). Evidence of corruption can be found in both the



supply and demand countries. Trafficking is a low risk and high profit endeavor; it is also often hidden and hard to address. There are push and pull factors that have facilitated the growth in trafficking of women and children. Push factors include “uneven economic growth, and the breakdown of economic systems, an increase in war and armed conflict, environmental degradation, natural disasters, and increasing levels of family violence” (Heyzer, 2002, p. 3).

Rapidly evolving globalization of the world economy has also made it as easy to move victims across international borders as the movement of goods and services. “Livelihoods are also changing as public sector employment is reduced, traditional industries disappear, and job subsidies are eliminated through structural adjustment programs” (Taran and Moreno-Fontes Chammartin 2002 quoted in Richards 2004, p.151). There is a high demand for cheap unskilled labor in the evolving globe as industries and multinational corporations try to cut costs.

Along with the civil inequality, famine and continent wide underinvestment link with widespread poverty especially in rural areas. This convergence appears as the cause of recent significantly increased trafficking. Parents in rural areas give away their children to others who promise to provide jobs for them. In most poverty stricken societies parents are forced to send their children away to work rather than to send them to school. Parents who want their children to have a better life, believe in better prospects elsewhere and are largely ignorant of the reality of exploitation. “Children and their families are often unaware of the dangers of trafficking, believing that better employment and lives lie in other countries” (UNICEF, 2005, p. 1).

Gender inequality also contributes to high rate of trafficking of women and children. In any given time, gender is only one of the “multiple, interlocking systems of domination” (Clark, 1994, p. 422). Gender intersects with other sources of discrimination and exploitation; it represents one dynamic within a global labor force that is also segmented by



class, ethnicity, race, nationality, and region (Mills, 2003, p. 42). In patrilineal family systems and societies, daughters are seen as a burden and a liability. Female children have to be married off at high financial costs; parents from lower socio-economic situations respond to these pressures in various ways. Some sell unwanted daughters into marriage, indentured servitude, or to strangers. Children are usually forced to work as domestic servants, construction workers, restaurant workers, prostitutes, sex workers, and in some cases are impressed into the military. Many young women are vulnerable to trafficking not only because they lack economic opportunities, but also because they want to escape long hours of unpaid domestic work expected of them (Heyzer, 2002, p. 10). “The feminization of global labor is not limited to third-world sites of export-oriented industry or agriculture; feminized and migrant labor forces are also crucial to reducing the high costs of private consumption and social reproduction at the centers of global privilege and power” (Mills, 2003, p. 44). Women’s rights to education, gainful employment, and health are all under threat as a result of government cutbacks in many spheres (Kingfisher & Goldsmith, 2001). Gender segregation in the labor market limits women’s opportunities, and they are susceptible to unregulated work. Women and children have less access to education, which makes them less likely to demand their rights as workers and increases their risk of abuse and trafficking.

Poverty and inequality, though strong factors in making certain populations more vulnerable to being trafficked, are secondary to the pull factors. Trafficking is a criminal industry driven by 1) the ability to make large profits due to high demand, and 2) negligible-to-low risk of prosecution. As long as the demand is unchecked and the risks for traffickers are low, trafficking will exist regardless of other contributing factors (Polaris Project, 2005).

### **Effects of Human Trafficking**

Human trafficking is a violation of the fundamental rights of the women and children involved. The U.S State Department reports, “victims of human trafficking pay a horrible



price. Psychological and physical harm, including disease and stunted growth, often have permanent effects” (U.S State Department, 2005, p.12). Sometimes victims forced into sex slavery can be drugged or can experience extreme violence. “Victims of sex trafficking face physical and emotional damage from forced sexual activity, forced substance abuse, and exposure to sexually transmitted diseases” (U.S State Department, 2005, p. 13). Some examples of sexually transmitted infections that victims experience are pelvic inflammatory disease and HIV/AIDS, which are the results of being used in prostitution. Victims also suffer from anxiety, insomnia, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (U.S State Department, 2005, p. 15). Some victims are socially ostracized. Many of the children are killed fighting adult wars, but the majority of them die from disease and malnutrition.

### **Development of Policy and International Measures Related to Human Trafficking**

Human trafficking is not a recent development but it has recently gained international attention due to the increase in the number of individuals being trafficked and the profitability of the industry. Bertone (1999, p. 13) reports, “the growing number of international conventions and treaties is proof that the international community has recognized this as a major impediment for the future of women’s economic, political, and social development.”

World politics today is no longer about states interacting alone, but rather consists of a network of a large number of actors. Participation in global affairs raises questions about the legitimacy of the system, actors, and issues (Maragia, 2002). Burley (1993, p. 207) states that the “discipline of international relations was born after World War I.” Many problems that communities are facing are not confined to national boundaries.

“International policies are joint responses to common problems that two or more national governments work out with one another” (Donnelly, 1990, p. 221). According to



Soroos (1990, p. 121), “these understandings are in forms of treaties that state the terms of negotiated agreements, which states commit to observe. Policies may then be incorporated into resolutions adopted by voting majorities in international bodies.” When these policies are embraced by numerous countries, treaties and resolutions might be viewed as norms of customary international law for which member states are responsible.

In the process of developing international policies, the major elements of the definition of such policies include:

- The recognition of the problem
- Specification of procedures by which the problem is to be addressed
- Formulation of policy alternatives
- Consideration of those alternatives
- Decision on a policy
- Implementation
- Evaluation of the consequences of the policy
- Decision on its future (Soroos, 1990, p. 120).

Ideally there should be a feedback mechanism whereby the organizations responsible for implementation and formulation of policies respond to and revise policies. International politics is a struggle for power; states in the international realm are supporters of their own national interest only. Kenneth Waltz (1979) argued that “the structure of the international political system contains only two of the three potential components: anarchy and the number of great powers within the system”, whereas the third component “differentiation” is missing (Burley, 1993, p.217). Waltz’s functional theory explains that the “persistence and pervasiveness in international politics are a result of rational calculations by participating states” (Burley, 1993, p. 218). Conflict or co-operation among states is “considered to be largely a function of the nature of the international system and, in particular, the number of actors and the distribution of power among them” (Pfaltzgraff, 1974, p. 35).

International relations theory is the idea that “global governance exists despite the lack of traditional hierarchical state structures at the international level [and] has arisen relatively recently, building on a long lineage of thinking about international regimes”



(Orenstein, 2005, p. 2). According to Maragia (2002, p. 302), “Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), multinational corporations (MNCs), citizen groups, religious and social groups, have become part and parcel of global politics as the distance between global and domestic affairs is increasingly getting blurred.” Thus organizations involved with international and domestic anti-trafficking policy development include NGOs, governmental organizations, and IGOs.

### **International Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)**

In 1945 the United Nations began using the term NGOs to differentiate between intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and private organizations. According to Wahl, “NGOs are voluntary associations which are: independent of the state or political parties; charitable; nonprofit oriented; and nonexclusive in terms of race, nationality, religion, and gender” (1998, p. 313). In order for an organization to be considered a NGO, it has to be independent from government control (Willetts, 2002). Paul indicates that people founded NGOs as an instrument to “meet community needs, defend interests or promote new policies” (1999, p.1).

NGOs act as “non state actors” in international policy development, where previously only states acted (Paul, 1999, p. 2). “Non-state actors, particularly NGOs, are increasingly playing a key role in global affairs and are not about to go away anytime soon despite their marginal legal status” (Maragia, 2002, p. 303). NGOs are not international legal bodies and are not subjects to international law with rights and duties. They do not have official rights of participation except those defined under specific international instruments such as Article 71 of the United Nations (Maragia, 2002, p. 304) which indicates,

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of



the United Nations concerned (Charter of The United Nations (UN), 2005).

Soroos (1990, p. 121) states that “numerous NGOs lobby for preferred international policies and become partners in developing or implementing public policy.” The NGOs are the closest to the consumers of public policy development. They can identify, advocate and lobby for policy changes, including policy against human trafficking. They, are by nature non-profit and independent, thus they can be unbiased in reporting about effectiveness and the need for policy. In the United States, NGOs are 501(c) 3 organizations that receive government funding; their political activities are restricted, thus many can only advocate, but are not directly involved in lobbying. Three of the organizations which were researched for this thesis, Polaris Project, Institute for Policy Studies, and Vital Voices, are NGOs. Essentially, NGOs serve the purpose of advocacy and highlight specific issues in public policy development. These NGOs have the ability to articulate and provide information to the public concerning trafficking. NGOs do not have law enforcement capabilities and they need government cooperation to develop laws and treaties. They also need cooperation of governments to implement the new laws. Working with other NGOs they have the ability to influence inter-governmental organizations and national governments. “International treaties and protocols alone are not sufficient to combat the crime of trafficking in women and children” (Raymond, 2002, p.15). Article 10 of The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, states, “organized cooperation by police, immigration authorities, social service agencies, and NGOs is encouraged” (Raymond, 2002, p. 8).

### **Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs)**

IGOs are transnational organizations in which sovereign states are members. They are predominantly in charge of developing and implementing international policies.

“Recognizing the need to work together to address problems that cannot be tackled



effectively on a unilateral basis, the community of states has created hundreds of international governmental organizations” (Soroos, 1990, p. 120). The international community has undergone profound changes which can be seen in the development of IGOs in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Executive directors of IGOs may participate during several stages of a policy implementation process. IGOs are not always effective in addressing the issue of trafficking as other international matters come to the forefront, such as the wars on terror and war on drugs and weapons. More powerful governments often decide what the agenda will be. Finally, IGOs must maintain diplomacy; they may not be very direct in pointing out that governments are not cooperating, especially if the governments are powerful.

“The role of global policy actors may include critiquing existing policy, offering limited proposals for policy reform, developing fully elaborated alternative policy proposals and frameworks, advocating these positions through various means, and/or playing a direct role in policy implementation” (Orenstein, 2005, p. 4). Global policy actors may also include coalitions or networks of actors that share similar principled ideas and agendas (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Unlike in individual member states, “there is no formal government at the international level with formal authority to carry out policies” (Orenstein, 2005, p. 5).

Even with the introduction of treaties, policies and international laws, the international community has continued to experience a surge in trafficking of women and children. Treaties have recently evolved to include prevention, protection, and assistance to victims. They also include criminal prosecution of traffickers, as demonstrated in the following protocols. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, was put in place to “prevent and combat trafficking in persons, paying particular attention to women and children; to protect and assist the victims of such trafficking, with full respect for their human rights; and to promote cooperation among States Parties in order to meet those objectives” (The United Nations General



Assembly, 2000, p. 1). The Convention, and its protocols, was implemented on September 29, 2003. This protocol is the first UN instrument to call upon countries to strengthen legislative measures to discourage human trafficking. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children provided a global definition for trafficking. The International Human Rights Network was “instrumental in advocating a definition of trafficking that protected all victims of trafficking, not just those who can prove they have been forced” (Raymond, 2002, p.5). The protocol was launched to contest the world’s organized crime networks, and combat the trafficking in persons and transnational prostitution. It is meant to create penalties that fit the crime, and to promote police and judicial cooperation across borders (Raymond, 2002, p. 4).

Most recently, the Protocol Against Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, was put into service by the UN on January 28, 2004. This protocol supplements the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and criminalizes the smuggling of migrants while protecting migrants from criminal prosecution for merely having been the object of such conduct (UNIFEM, 2005). These two protocols have led to a change in the perception of trafficked persons from being viewed as criminals to victims of crime. The United Nations also publishes annual regional and global reports, however, due to the UN structure, the reports are written very diplomatically. The recommendations developed in these treaties and conventions are left to the specific member states to adopt and implement. The United Nations and other IGOs have difficulty enforcing these treaties due to the lack of policing power. They also lack the power to arrest, try, and prosecute human traffickers. The ability to implement, police, and enforce the laws is restricted to Nation States.

While governments work together in IGOs to develop policy, individual governments work to implement and enforce these policies in their sovereign states. In the following section I will highlight the role of governments in developing international policies.



## Governmental Organizations

Governmental organizations are organizations that have a legal basis in the constitution or laws passed by legislators within nation-states. Domestic factors affect foreign policies; the importance of domestic constitutional law is a determinant of international behavior (Burley, 1993, p. 228). Contrary to general belief, international law and domestic law do not occupy separate spaces. Sovereign states decide “whether to accept international rules and obligations formulated to address problems that transcend their borders” (Soroos, 1990, p.120). “The division of labor between what domestic bureaucrats, legislators and the judicial branches do and the development of international law through international institutions is artificial” (Maragia, 2002, p. 314). States used to be the only subjects of international law and hence the only actors in international politics. “International law and international relations, in turn, constitute the law of nations, which states had consented to, and politics among states, respectively” (Maragia, 2002, p.314). International policies are a response to a problem that governments are encountering; governments come together to address common concerns. Soroos (1990, p.118) indicates that the “foreign policies of a government may guide the positions that it takes in regard to negotiating and accepting international and global policies.” Governments develop laws, organization, and actively police and prosecute traffickers. For example, the United States requires countries receiving financial and security assistance to provide an annual report detailing:

- (A) A description of the nature and extent of severe forms of trafficking in persons in each foreign country.
- (B) With respect to each country that is a country of origin, transit, or destination for victims of severe forms of trafficking in persons, an assessment of the efforts by the government of that country to combat such trafficking (TVPR 2000, p.12).

The United States, Canada, Finland and Sweden passed national legislation to prosecute their countries’ own citizens for sexual abuse of children while outside the country



(Kryszko & Raymond, 2005, p.7). In 2003, the Philippines government passed national legislation to eliminate trafficking in persons that criminalizes the act of “maintaining or hiring a person to engage in prostitution or pornography” (Kryszko & Raymond, 2005, p.1). Governments are responsible for abiding by the treaties that have been agreed to in the international arena. They may face penalties, such as fines and suspension from international organizations. Countries failing to do so may be sanctioned or aid will be withheld. “States and the international community must take a holistic approach which addresses multi-faceted problems pertinent to trafficking, including its causes and the consequence” (Obokata, 2005, p. 457).

## **Summary**

This review of the relevant literature concerning human trafficking and roles of NGOs and IGOs in policy formation and implementation indicates the importance of addressing the issue at both the national and international levels. In order to develop appropriate policies on trafficking it is essential to document the role of various institutions in policy development to combat trafficking. Furthermore, international organizations need to partner with other organizations at both the national and international level to effectively address the issue of human trafficking and to impact anti-trafficking policies. This study concentrates on identifying the roles of three NGOs (Polaris Project, Institute for Policy Studies, and Vital Voices) and one IGO (International Organization for Migration) in affecting policy for the elimination of human trafficking. By understanding their roles and strategies, it is hoped that subsequent studies can assess how effective such organizations are and recommend how their effectiveness can be improved. My exploratory study aims to examine in depth how four international organizations are currently affecting policies aimed at eliminating trafficking. More specifically, I seek to provide answers to the following questions:

- What are the organizations doing to affect policy?

- Who do they negotiate and meet with?
- Do they have authority to influence specific policy or legislation?
- What strategies are they using to affect anti-trafficking policy?



## CHAPTER 2 METHODS

This chapter describes the process of sample selection and data collection. The sample for this study was selected from among international organizations working to eliminate human trafficking located in Washington, D.C. The study used a qualitative research approach to select participants, gather and analyze data. “Qualitative research is referred to as ‘real world’ research as it commonly involves undertaking observations and interviews in the location of the participants” (Endacott, 2005, p.123). An exploratory study is also known as theory-building. In this type of study data are collected and analyzed and the results are used to develop a theory. An exploratory study investigates a new area of research. Qualitative research is used as a primary research method to begin investigation in a new subject area. This research approach enables an in-depth investigation of the research topic.

### **Sample Selection**

Sampling selection in qualitative research is not so rigidly prescribed as in quantitative studies (Coyne, 1997). In this study the method of sample selection is based on “purposive sampling” criteria. “Sample selection is conceptually driven, either by the theoretical framework which underpins the research question from the outset, or by an evolving theory which is derived inductively from the data as the research proceeds” (Curtis et al., 2000, p. 2). There are several factors researchers must consider when selecting a sample for a study: “1. The sampling strategy should be relevant to the conceptual framework and the research questions addressed by the research; 2. The sample should be likely to generate rich information on the type of phenomena which need to be studied; 3. The sample should enhance the ‘generalizability’ of the findings; 4. The sample should produce believable descriptions/explanations “(Curtis et al., 2000, p. 3). The purposive sampling method was appropriate in terms of my limited resources of money and time.



In summer 2005, as I was working on an internship in Washington, D.C., I seized the opportunity to research anti-trafficking agencies in the area. Washington, D.C. is the center of policy making in the United States, and many international organizations that work with policy makers to affect policies are located there. I began my study by conducting literature and internet searches on international organizations involved with the prevention of human trafficking in Washington, D.C. Based on my research, I developed a list of thirteen international organizations. My criteria for selection included: a) the organization needed to be located in Washington D.C., b) the programs offered by the organization needed to focus on human trafficking, and c) the organization had to have some experience working at the international level.

After identifying prospective participants, I contacted the anti-trafficking program coordinator in each organization. I then prepared a letter of introduction (Appendix I) informing participants of my research study, my name and contact information, and my major professor's name and contact information. I sent this letter to the 13 prospective participants (Appendix II). I followed up this initial contact with a telephone call to confirm receipt of the letter and interest in participation. Participants interested then scheduled an appointment for a thirty-minute interview. Individuals not interested in participating were immediately removed from the list. I then interviewed one person from each of the four organizations (Appendix III) who agreed to participate in the study. I interviewed a National Program Coordinator with Polaris Project, The Executive Director of the Break the Chain Campaign, the Anti-trafficking Program Director with the International Organization for Migration and an Anti-trafficking intern with Vital Voices.

After the initial data analysis, with the recommendation of my committee members, I developed more questions targeted to address the organizations' role in policy advocacy and development. I then conducted a follow up interview on the telephone. The interviews were recorded and transcribed.



## **Data Collection**

After sample selection, I began collecting and recording data. The research process took place in the following two stages:

1. The initial personal interview used questions aimed at obtaining general information
2. After consultation and intervention of my graduate committee members, four research questions were developed. The second set of the interview questions were based on the research questions developed.

My primary method of data collection was semi-structured interviews, supplemented by organizational documents, and web sites in particular. Endacott (2005, p.125) indicates that “three ethical principles underpin data collection: autonomy, confidentiality, and informed consent.” Participants had the freedom to participate or withdraw from the study. All the organizational members who agreed to participate signed an informed consent document. I also received approval from the Iowa State Institutional Research Board to conduct the study. After participants agreed to participate in the study, I sent them a copy of the initial questionnaire (Appendix IV). This first questionnaire has 22 questions seeking information about the structure of the organization, funding, geographical reach of the organization, and activities of the organization regarding trafficking policies and the organization’s impact on policies. The participants and I scheduled a convenient interview time; during the agreed time the interviews were conducted in the offices of the participants. Follow up interviews were conducted by telephone. The initial interviews were conducted in June and July 2005, while the follow-up interviews were conducted between February and March 2006.

There are several factors that I considered during my data collection:

1. Structure of interviews: The interview questions were open-ended to allow the interviewer to build on a question, and to allow the participant to



elaborate on his or her responses. With the permission of the participants, I recorded the interviews on a tape recorder.

2. Location of interviews: The initial interviews were conducted at the participant's office, which was the participant's territory. This allowed the participant to be more comfortable and less threatened by the interview process.

3. Transcription: following the personal and telephone interviews the audio tapes were converted to written transcripts

After reviewing transcripts from the personal interviews, I developed a follow up questionnaire based on the recommendations and intervention of my graduate committee members. These follow up questions clarified the role of each organization in policy advocacy and development. The follow up questionnaire (see Appendix V) also closely addressed my research questions: How are the international organizations currently affecting anti-trafficking policies? What are the organizations doing? Who do they negotiate and meet with? Do they have authority to do anything? What strategies are they using?

I supplemented my findings with research conducted on the participant's websites. Such information included current anti- trafficking initiatives, structure of the organizations, and organizations that the participants work with. Other information included the history of the organization, its mission statement, and its goals.

## **Data Analysis**

The analysis of the written transcripts consisted of direct comparison of the responses of interviewees regarding each of the four research questions. Data from the initial interviews and website research was used to describe organizational size, structure and funding sources. I obtained additional information about current anti-trafficking programs such as services provided to victims. I also used the information to determine the scope and reach of the organizations' programs and services. Data from the initial interviews and website research

allowed me to ascertain to some extent what the organizations are doing to affect anti-trafficking policies and who they currently negotiate with to impact policy. However, the initial questions were not specific enough to yield in-depth information about how the organizations were able to influence policy. The supplementary questionnaire yielded more specific data on current strategies the organizations were using to affect policies, the relationships with their negotiating partners, and whether or not the respondents felt that the organizations have the ability to influence policy.



## CHAPTER 3 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings based on analysis of the responses and information obtained from interviews with members of the four international organizations—Polaris Project, The Institute for Policy Studies, International Organization for Migration, and Vital Voices—as well as the organizations' web sites. I will first discuss the organizations' structures and activities and second their current attempts to influence anti-trafficking laws and policies.

### Description of Participating Organizations

#### **Polaris Project**

Polaris Project is a non-governmental organization based in Washington, D.C. with offices in New Jersey and Tokyo, Japan. It was incorporated on February 14, 2002 in Providence, Rhode Island. It moved offices to Washington, D.C. to begin full-time operation in June 2002. In September 2004, Polaris Project launched an office in the Japan Campaign Against Trafficking (JCAT). The founders of this project are Katherine Chon and Derek Ellerman, both of whom graduated from Brown University. They learned about a case involving six Korean women who were forced into prostitution in nearby Providence, Rhode Island. They wanted to do something about it and in response founded Polaris Project. They realized that way many of the trafficking roles and the trafficking movements were structured, only individuals like lawyers, doctors, or government officials were able to do anything about trafficking. There were not as many avenues to influence the anti-trafficking movement if one was an ordinary community member or college student. Polaris Project's mission statement says: "committed to combating human trafficking and modern-day slavery and to strengthening the anti-trafficking movement through a comprehensive approach" (Polaris Project Website, retrieved January 17, 2006).

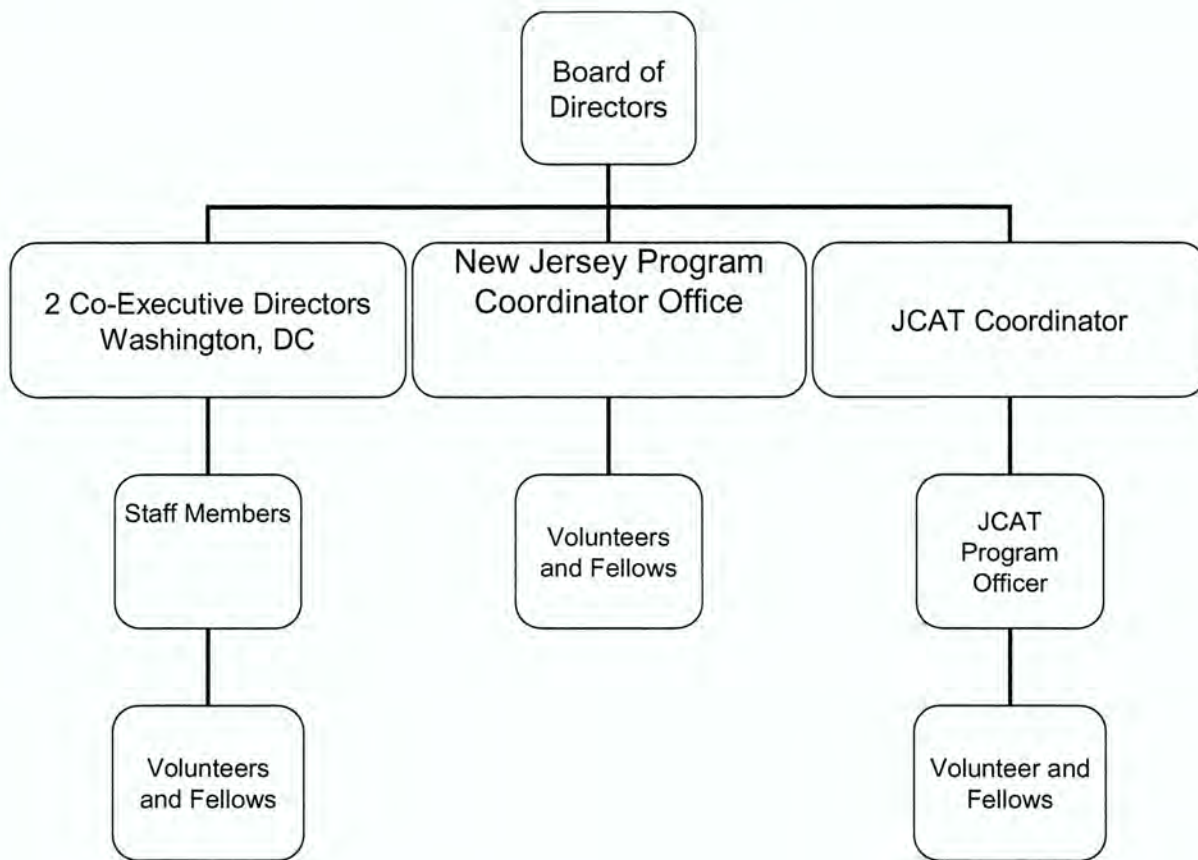
Polaris Project consists of a small staff of 6 persons in its Washington, D.C. office, 2 Co-Executive Directors, a Street Outreach Coordinator, a Research Analyst/Office Manager,



a Case Manager, and a National Program Coordinator. The Japan office consists of two staff members who are a Japan Campaign Against Trafficking (JCAT) Coordinator and a JCAT Program Officer. The New Jersey office has only one staff member—a Program Coordinator. There is a Board of Directors that guides and advises the programs of Polaris Project offices. The Board members are in charge of policy development, funding, and paying the salary of the staff. The Board comprises 7 members, including one Co-Executive Director. The Board members vary in profession and experience. Every three months there is a new fellowship class of fifteen individuals. The Polaris Project fellows program involves individuals with a range of experience (e.g., undergraduate and graduate students, attorneys, social workers and professionals from the U.S. State Department). Although the fellowship position is unpaid, people apply from various states and countries. There is also consistently a large, volunteer group. The different volunteers supporting the chapters, fellows, and 3000 grassroots networks nationwide are unpaid positions (Figure 1).

Polaris Project is a 501(c) 3 organization that receives funding from the government, private institutions, and private donors. It receives funds from the U.S. federal government through the U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Justice, Government of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C. Task Force Against Trafficking, and the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA.). Other sources of funding are Ashoka Innovators for the Public, Do Something Foundation, Washington Area Women's Foundation, Fund for Nonviolence, Peace Development Fund, Oracle Japan, and Yokohama Women's Association. In addition, Polaris Project has a large volunteer base of funding, consisting of donations and unrestricted funds, from fund-raisers and individual donors.





**Figure 1. Organization Chart of Polaris Project**

Polaris Project provides direct services and shelter to trafficking survivors, works to influence policy development and the passage of stronger anti trafficking laws, and contributes to building the grassroots movement to end modern-day slavery. It has several programs targeted at educating the public and combating trafficking. The programs are developed to provide a comprehensive approach. The organization's work focuses on four key strategies: direct intervention, survivor support, policy advocacy and international movement building. Polaris Project attempts to incorporate a grassroots community-based element into all four strategies in all of its work.

The direct intervention strategy includes victim outreach, direct outreach, and community outreach. This consists of participating on various task forces. Polaris Project participates on the D.C. anti-trafficking task force as well as in direct training work, community training outreach, and technical assistance in the community.

The second strategy, survivor support, includes client services and providing shelter, as well as trying to work towards moving the clients to independence and financial self sufficiency. There is a Polaris online store, where people from the community can buy cards and with the proceeds from the sale of those cards go directly to the clients to foster their financial self-sufficiency. Job training and assistance in resume writing are other services that Polaris Project provides.

The third strategy is policy advocacy, where work is being done towards institutionalizing more effective laws, at the federal and state level as well as local ordinances. Polaris Project staff is working on policy formulation and development end to ensure that institutional legal structure is implemented and enforced.

The international movement building strategy, is intended to raise public awareness, by providing resources and articles for the general public to read in order to learn about trafficking. This project has two aspects to it; the Polaris Project Fellowship Program and HumanTrafficking.com. Polaris Project trains fellows from different professional fields and backgrounds to work in the daily office environment and the Polaris community. Fellows are trained to focus on different specializations, varying from Client Services, National Advocacy, U.S. Policy, Japan Campaign Against Trafficking (JCAT) and Organizational Development. HumanTrafficking.com is a large online research and activism center for the international anti-trafficking community. The website was created to raise public awareness about trafficking in persons and to provide free access to research and training materials which can be utilized by organizations and individuals around the world (Polaris Project, 2005).



Polaris Project strategies encompass both a top down and a bottom up approach to trafficking. The top down approach focuses on increasing institutionalization and laws, while the bottom up strategy focuses on implementation of laws. The organization is trying to influence policy development by governments aimed at institutionalizing laws, counter trafficking capacity, and to develop strategies to ensure that law enforcement officers are trained every year in counter-trafficking techniques. In regards to implementation of policy, Polaris Project focuses on task forces, conducting training of legislators and members of law enforcement, and public awareness. According to Polaris Project National Coordinator:

We are doing all these things to institutionalize counter trafficking capacity, and then coupled with that institutionalization is implementation, making sure that human rights are being protected. One element without the other is insufficient; just because you have a bunch of institutionalization, if it is not implemented it is insufficient and just because you have a bunch of implementation, if it is not institutionalized, it is insufficient because it is not sustainable in the long term (Interview June 14, 2005).

Laws without implementation are insufficient. Though a law can be institutionalized it lacks effectiveness if it is not implemented. On the other hand, working directly with victims but not having the backing of the legal system will not reduce the magnitude of the problem or the flow of victims. Polaris Project aims to approach the issue of human trafficking on both ends.

### **Institute for Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign**

Break the Chain Campaign is part of an umbrella organization called the Institute for Policy Studies. In September 1997, two Institute for Policy Studies fellows organized a public forum to “expose the problems faced by domestic workers living in Washington, D.C.” (BTCC Website retrieved January 17, 2006). The founders of this project, Sarah Anderson and Martha Honey, began a forum after Honey wrote a cover story “detailing cases of abuse dating back to the mid-1970s” (BTCC Website retrieved January 17, 2006). After the first forum, the need to develop a coalition of women’s rights, human rights, and labor



became apparent; thus the Campaign for Migrant Domestic Workers' Rights (CMDWR) was created.

Initially, law firms and community-based organizations, including women's groups, provided different facets of assistance to enslaved and/or exploited workers while also strategically engaging in advocacy and policy reform in the areas of workers' rights and human rights through CMDWR. A large number of reported abuse cases in international institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), later resulted in an inclusion in CMDWR programs. Furthermore, governmental organizations such as the Department of Justice, Labor and State, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and a White House inter-agency task force have consulted the CMDWR on trafficking. CMDWR "has also been one of the founding members of Freedom Network (USA), a nationwide rapid-response coalition that works to ensure that every enslaved and trafficked person in the U.S. is able to enforce their legal and human rights and have access to linguistically appropriate, culturally sensitive, victim-centered social, health, and legal services" (BTCC Website retrieved January 17, 2006).

In order to capture its expanding mandate which includes trafficked and enslaved persons in all labor industries and the sex industry, the Campaign for Migrant Domestic Workers' Rights changed its name to the Break the Chain Campaign (BTCC) in 2003. According to its mission statement, Break the Chain Campaign "seeks to minimize the effects of human trafficking, modern-day slavery and worker exploitation through comprehensive direct service, research, outreach, advocacy, training and technical assistance" (BTCC Website retrieved January 17, 2006).

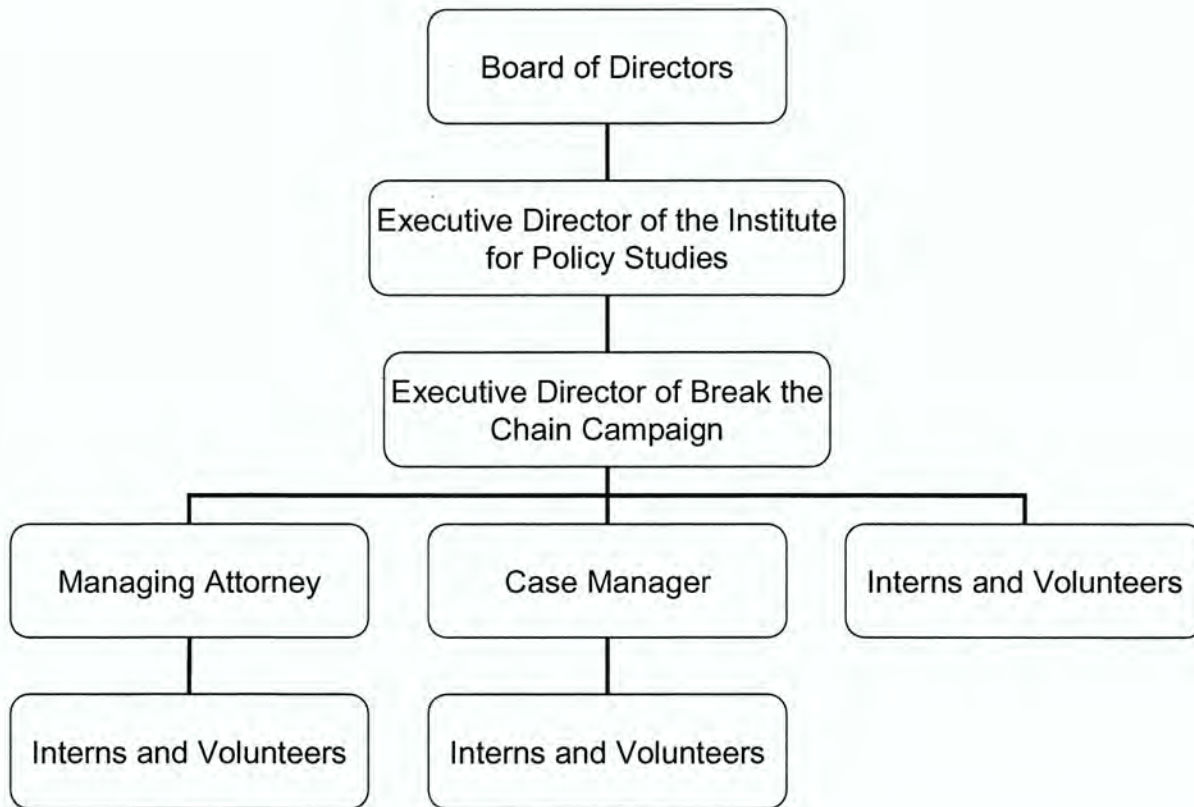
The Break the Chain Campaign is governed by the Board of Directors of the Institute for Policy Studies. It is one of eleven projects of the Institute. The Executive Director of the Break the Chain Campaign reports to the Executive Director of the Institute for Policy



Studies. BTCC staff consists of a managing attorney and a case manager both of whom report to the Executive Director (Figure 2).

The Institute for Policy Studies is a 501(c) 3 organization under the IRS code. Break the Chain Campaign receives funding from government subsidy in the form of grants that originate from the Office of Refugee Resettlement and the Office of Victims of Crime. BTCC also receives funding from foundation support, private and public donors, and funding in conjunction with other organizations to be able to provide services to victims of trafficking. BTCC also receives funding through a joint grant in conjunction with the Center for Multicultural Human Services for direct services for trafficked persons. They worked closely with the Coalition Against Slavery & Trafficking, Safe Horizon, Lucha, the International Organization of Adolescents (IOFA), Coalition of Immokelee Workers, and Midwest Immigrant and Human Rights Center (MIHRC) on a grant for trainings of law enforcement, social service providers and the general public.

The Campaign provides a holistic approach by “combining direct service, outreach, organizing, media work, training, and technical assistance with ongoing negotiations with the US government, embassies and international institutions on policy reform” (BTCC Website retrieved January 17, 2006). BTCC provides case management services to trafficked individuals, conducts advocacy aimed at policy development on trafficking issues, and has a staff attorney and a case manager on staff to take care of various needs of each individual. Its aim is to place each victim at a level of self-sufficiency. Seven strategies are used to attain the Campaign’s goals: Domestic Worker Affinity Group, Pro Bono Holistic Services,



**Figure 2. Organization Chart for the Institute for Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign**

Promoting Rights of Migrants in Servitude & Enslavement (PROMISE) Central, Institute on Human Trafficking Training, Advocacy and Public Policy, Technical Assistance/Capacity-Building, and Media Outreach and Public Awareness.

### **Domestic Worker Affinity Group**

In 2005 an international domestic worker conference was held in New York City where strategies were developed to combat the discrimination and exploitation of domestic workers. The conference was hosted by the Campaign in partnership with Global Rights. The result of this conference was the Domestic Worker Affinity Group.

### **Pro Bono Holistic Services**



Legal and social service assistance is provided to trafficked, enslaved and exploited workers through in-house provisions and/or referrals to local Break the Chain Campaign member organizations. Initial duties of the Campaign's staff include client intake and assessment. Once this is achieved, cases are placed with the appropriate agencies, although sometimes the Campaign provides direct service.

### **Promoting Rights of Migrant in Servitude and Enslavement (PROMISE) Central**

In addition, the Campaign has successfully launched PROMISE Central where domestic workers meet on Sundays to communicate, organize, and gain education about US labor laws. During these meetings they acquire skills to successfully challenge exploitative workplaces and violations of their rights.

### **Institute on Human Trafficking Training**

The Campaign is also a Freedom Network regional coordinator and provides in-depth training to local grassroots and community-based organizations on anti-trafficking initiatives and worker exploitation throughout the Northeast region in the United States.

### **Advocacy and Public Policy Development**

The Campaign has undertaken advocacy projects which involve drafting model legislation to provide visa holder domestic workers equal access to legal protection that is afforded to other labor industry workers.

### **Technical Assistance/Capacity-Building**

The Campaign in conjunction with the International Organization of Adolescents (IOFA) in New York City provides technical assistance and capacity-building to like-minded organizations to facilitate a wider dissemination of public education, training and outreach materials. Transferring information and skills to various organizations' boards, staff, volunteers and their coalition members throughout the Northeast region in order to increase their ability to respond to cases of trafficking and slavery, is a task the Campaign and IOFA strive to increase.



## **Media Outreach and Public Awareness**

The Campaign is also in the process of increasing public awareness and education about slavery, trafficking and worker exploitation through the media. In addition to radio and television programs, a large number of news reports have been successfully generated in magazines and newspapers including *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*. Appearances on local news programs as well as language-specific radio or television have been crucial to the media strategy in order to reach non-English speaking workers. As a result, the Campaign's media strategy has allowed workers of all ethnicities to know they are not alone and where to find help.

Regarding its approach to combating trafficking and worker exploitation, the Break the Chain Executive Director had this to say:

We feel that our direct services work gives us the practical experience, the case data, and the statistics that we need to better inform our advocacy work which in turn we then use to provide positive systemic changes for people who are being enslaved or exploited. The direct service is the chemotherapy and the policy work is the cure for the cancer. We can continuously try to put Band-Aids, try to help with social services the people need but unless we change the policies, of course, we are going to see the same thing happen over and over again (interview February 16th, 2006).

## **Vital Voices Global Partnership**

Vital Voices Global Partnership is a non-profit organization founded in June 2000 stemming from the U.S. Government's successful Vital Voices Democracy Initiative. The Vital Voices Initiative was established in 1997 by former First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, after the fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. The aim of this initiative was to promote the advancement of women as a U.S. foreign policy goal. Vital Voices' mission states:

Vital Voices Global Partnership envisions a world of peace, justice and economic opportunity for all, where the voice of every woman is heard and respected. Vital Voices connects women around the



world through knowledge-sharing, best practices, innovative partnerships and professional support so that women achieve:

- Economic independence
- Political rights and civic leadership
- The full protection of their human rights.  
([www.vitalvoices.org](http://www.vitalvoices.org), 2006)

Vital Voices coordinates conferences throughout the world, bringing together thousands of emerging female leaders from over 80 countries. The Vital Voices conferences began regional initiatives that give women skills and resources for improvement of their communities and countries.

Vital Voices is governed by a 30 member Board of Directors who vary in levels of expertise and experience. The Board of Directors governs and advises the organization on issues regarding foreign policy, policy development, business, communications and philanthropy. The Board has one Chair and two Vice Chairs; there are also three Honorary Chairs. Vital Voices also has a Global Advisory Council, which consists of 30 female leaders from every region of the world. These women are from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe and they vary in expertise and experience, such as having worked with human rights organizations, having been elected representatives, or having been successful entrepreneurs in former communist countries. Many of the Council members have been involved with Vital Voices since its earliest days and in the growth of Vital Voices globally. Membership is renewed annually, and new members are added on a case by case basis throughout the year. The Global Advisory Council advises Vital Voices about the important issues women encounter in their countries and works with Vital Voices to address them. Its members also serve as local Vital Voices representatives, at events and with the media and other NGOs ([www.vitalvoices.org](http://www.vitalvoices.org), 2006). Vital Voices' small staff consists of a Vice President and Senior Program Director, Global Leadership Institute Director, Director of the Anti-Trafficking and Human Rights Program, Associate Director of Development, and an Office Administrator.



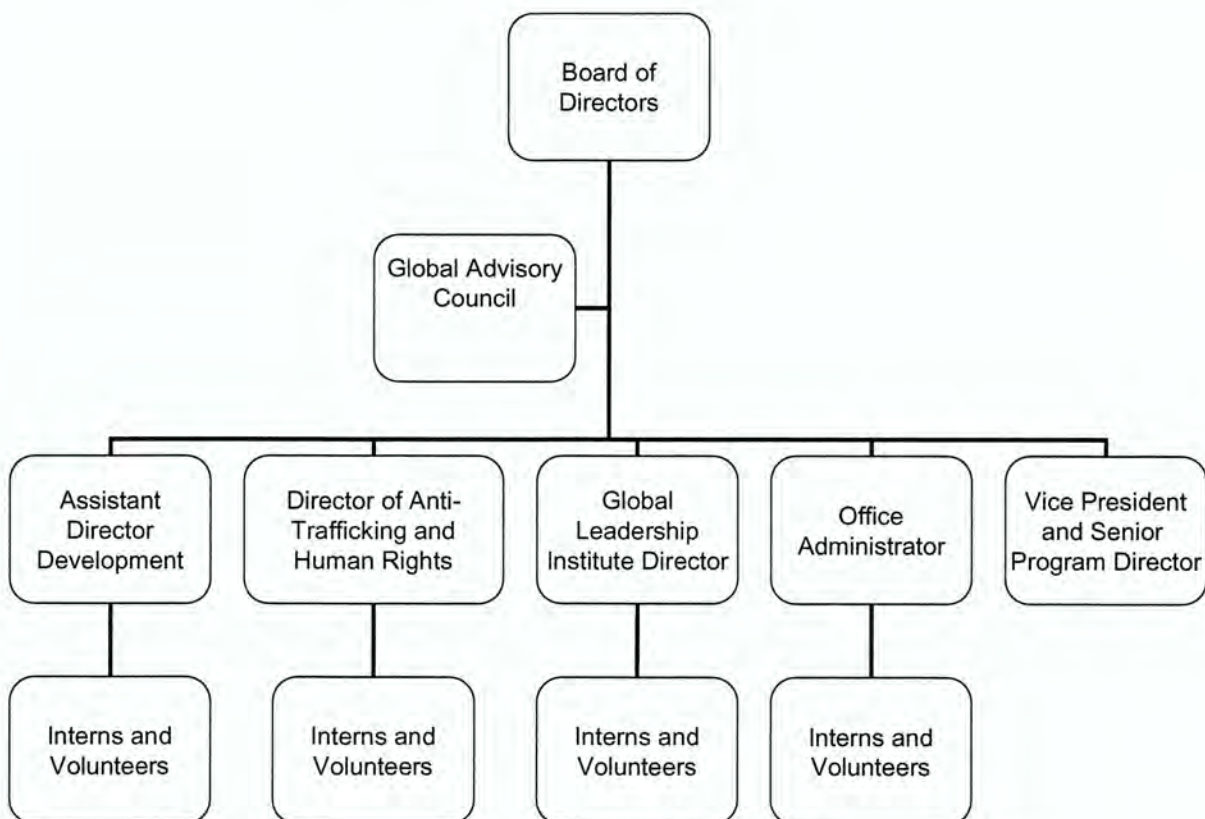
Vital Voices is a 501 (c) 3 organization that receives funding from multiple sources such as United States government funds, corporate funds, and donations from private individuals and foundations. Some of its donors and supporters include Citigroup, The Coca-Cola Company, Daimler Chrysler Corporation Fund, Discovery Communications, Inc., General Motors Foundation, Avon Products, Inc., Bauman Foundation, ChevronTexaco Corporation, Medicare Plus, Inc., New Balance Athletic Shoes, Inc., and Price Water House Coopers LLP. Some sustainers also include CH2M HILL, Davis Wright Tremaine LLP, The Garber Foundation, GEICO, Gensler, Guernsey Office Supplies, Hilb Rogal & Hobbs, International Paper, Marathon Oil Corporation, McKinsey & Company, Inc., PEPCO Holdings Inc., Steptoe and Johnson LLP, The Unicorn Foundation, United Nations Foundation, and Weil, Gotshal & Manges LLP.

With the aid of funding, donations, and a large volunteer community, Vital Voices coordinates international forums that engage leaders, policy makers, and field practitioners in a dialogue. These forums “allow participants to share successful strategies, facilitate cross-cultural dialogue, and create valuable networks and partnerships with other individuals and organizations also working to advance the status of women” ([www.vitalvoices.org](http://www.vitalvoices.org), 2006). Vital Voices is addressing the issue of human trafficking through its Anti-Trafficking and Human Rights Program. It has a holistic approach that exposes abuse of women and girls, raises public awareness, draws decision makers to common problems and develops solutions.

The first strategy used to combat trafficking in the Anti-Trafficking and Human Rights Program is training leaders to fight trafficking. Through the Vital Voices Global Leadership Institute at Georgetown University, future female leaders are enabled to receive instruction from top anti-trafficking experts. These women gain critical field experience and return home with new skills, alliances, and ongoing support for their work. Members of the Vital Voices Network return home to partner with government agencies, social service



centers, counselors, the legal community, and other NGOs. The second strategy is raising awareness about trafficking. Vital Voices publishes eight issues annually of an electronic newsletter, *The Trafficking Alert*. The aim of this newsletter is to educate the general public about the international trade in human beings and warn potential victims about the dangers of trafficking. The newsletter also keeps anti-trafficking advocates informed of important developments from around the world in the fight against trafficking. It reaches out to news organizations, media producers, members of Congress, U.S. government agencies, and others to focus on anti-trafficking.



**Figure 3. Organization Chart for Vital Voices**

In addition, Vital Voices is working closely with several UN agencies to help distribute a public service announcement in the United States to educate the public about the

international trade in human beings and warn potential victims about the dangers of trafficking. The newsletter is part of a public awareness campaign produced in partnership with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) for use in the United States and internationally. “*The Trafficking Alert*” is distributed to thousands of representatives of nongovernmental organizations, governments, and international institutions, to promote effective partnerships between governments and NGOs across the nation and around the world” (Vital Voices Website, Retrieved March 5, 2006). Vital Voices also conducts research and fact-finding field studies regarding human trafficking. Finally it has an online art auction entitled *The Forgotten Girls*”; the “project is an artistic expression devoted to raising public awareness about the sexual exploitation of trafficked women and young girls” (www.vitalvoices.org, 2006). All proceeds from this project are used to fund Vital Voices Global Partnerships Anti-Trafficking and Human Rights program.

### **The International Organization for Migration**

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an intergovernmental organization based in Geneva Switzerland, with offices located around the globe. It has 109 member countries; these countries all have to ratify and subscribe to its policy and constitution. In 1951 the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movements of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) was developed to promote the humane and orderly movement of people and support for governments. PICMME became the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM). In 1980 ICEM’s name was changed to Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM) due to its increasing role in the global community. ICM expanded its reach, Migration for Development Program, to qualified African and Asian countries. In 1989, ICM’s constitution was amended and ratified, and the organization’s name was also changed to International Organization for Migration (IOM). IOM focuses on migration issues, which include human trafficking. Counter-trafficking is one of its core services. IOM was one of the first inter-governmental organizations looking at



the issue because of its focus on migration and how migration and trafficking are interlinked.

IOM's mission states:

As the leading international organization for migration, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to:

- Assist in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management
- Advance understanding of migration issues
- Encourage social and economic development through migration, and
- Uphold the human dignity and well being of migrants (IOM website, retrieved September 5, 2005).

IOM has three organs that ensure the fluid running of the organization: the Council, the Executive Committee, and the Administration. There is a Council session every year where all 109 countries meet in order to be updated on the services and activities of the organization. The Council determines the policies of the organization, reviews its reports, and approves and directs the activities of the Executive Committee and the Director General. The Council also reviews and approves the program, budget, expenditures, and accounts of the organization. Finally, the Council takes action to further the progress of the organization.

The functions of the Executive Committee include examining any financial questions and pertaining to the budget, advising the Director General, and presenting advice/proposals to the Council and the Director General. Members of the Executive Committee also make urgent decisions between Council meetings; they review policies, programs and activities of the organization, and they review annual reports of the Director General and transmit those reports and recommendations to the Council.

The last organ of the IOM is the Administration; this body consists of the Director General, Deputy Director General, and staff. The Director General fulfills the administrative and executive functions of the organization in accordance with the Constitution. The Director General also executes the rules, regulations, policies, and decisions of the Council and the

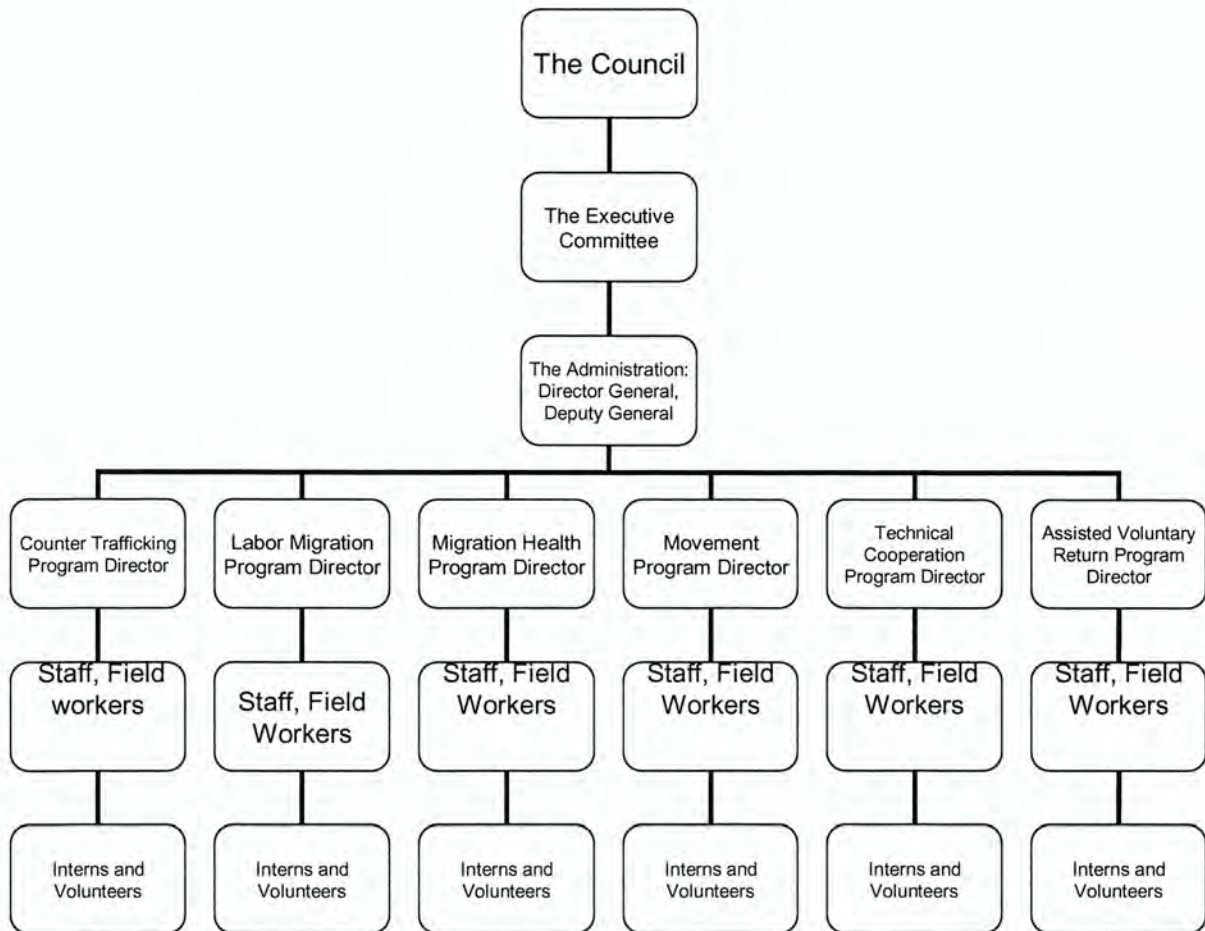
Executive Committee. The Director General is to prepare proposals for action by the Council; he/she also appoints the staff of the Administration. Since IOM is an IGO it does not have a board of directors; instead, there is a Director General and a Deputy Director General who are elected by the member states. The Director General is responsible to the Council and the Executive Committee (Figure 4). Together they guide the overall objectives and activities of the organization.

IOM has approximately 100 different programs on every continent, including those in areas of prevention, protection, assistance to victims of trafficking, and working with law enforcement to successfully prosecute traffickers. IOM is funded through the donor nations, and predominantly through government support. Upon joining the organization, the members agree to support the mandate of the organization for and with other members. Some of the larger donors to IOM for trafficking programs include the United States and Sweden; they are the two biggest financial contributors. Australia and Japan are both increasing their donations.

IOM works in six service areas including counter-trafficking, labor migration, migration health, technical cooperation on migration, assisted voluntary returns, and integration. Counter trafficking is one of IOM's core services and it is very important to the organization. According to the Director of the anti-trafficking program,

IOM is one of the first inter-governmental organizations looking at the issue because of our focus on migration and how migration and trafficking are linked together. We have been providing assistance to victims of trafficking for over fifteen years. It is an integral part of the organization's objectives. Our long-term objective is we will hopefully put ourselves out of work (Interview, July 8th 2005).





**Figure 4. Organization Chart for the International Organization for Migration**

IOM is also working to identify and to assist the victims of trafficking and help countries develop responses so that the flow of human trafficking is reduced. It has over a hundred different programs working on protection, prevention, and stopping the vulnerability of trafficking victims. The organization also works with countries to understand how their current frameworks may or may not contribute to links of human trafficking. It assists member countries in policy development, in building strong laws, and moving forward in prosecution and investigations to convict traffickers. Finally, IOM provides the resources and opportunities for victims of trafficking to return to their home countries if they choose to do so. The following are specific strategies that IOM is using to address human trafficking:

- **Protection** With the aid of NGOs, IGOs and government agencies, IOM provides shelter and assistance for victims of trafficking.
- **Counseling** By working with NGOs and health organizations, IOM provides legal and medical counseling and assistance to trafficked migrants in transit and in receiving countries.
- **Return/Reintegration** IOM offers and provides “voluntary return and reintegration assistance to trafficked migrants” (IOM Website, 2005).
- **Information Dissemination Programs** In an effort to decrease vulnerability of potential migrants, IOM coordinates mass information campaigns in countries of origin to inform them of the risks of irregular migration and trafficking.
- **Capacity Building** IOM provides training to governmental institutions and other agencies to increase counter-trafficking capacity.
- **Research and Policy Development on Human Trafficking** IOM does research that focuses attention on the problem of human trafficking.
- **Seminars and Policy** IOM coordinates seminars and forums to raise general awareness about trafficking, “share experience amongst the various partners, disseminate results from research, coordinate/harmonize policies and measures, and create formal and informal networks dealing with the issue” (IOM Website, 2005).

## **How International Organizations are Currently Affecting Anti-Trafficking Policies**

The four organizations that participated in this study have similar as well as different approaches to affecting anti-trafficking policies. In this section I will compare the organizations in relation to my four research questions. Three out of the four organizations are NGOs; the last organization, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), is an IGO.



## **What the Organizations are Doing to Affect Policy**

Both Polaris Project and the Break the Chain Campaign predominantly focus on affecting national policies and laws. Although Polaris Project's policy work is focused on U.S. national policies, in September 2004 its Japanese location was launched. This has extended the organization's reach and focus to anti-trafficking policies in Japan. Vital Voices and IOM also focus on national policy development but their reach is extended to the international arena. As an intergovernmental organization IOM works in close proximity with officials of member states to understand how their current frameworks may or may not contribute to links of human trafficking. In doing so, they aid countries in building stronger laws and moving forward in prosecution and investigations to convict traffickers.

IOM uses international forums and international meetings as an opportunity to discuss particular policies that help governments be able to manage migration and to assist migrants in need, including trafficked victims. IOM also works directly with governments to advocate for the best policy and legislative framework as well as implementation as it relates to the local context. One of its services is to provide capacity building training, which is working to train governments on what strategies to employ and the best policies they could use to strengthen their own legal system. As the IOM Counter Trafficking Program Director indicates,

Our objective is to be able to support governments in being able to address the challenges that they are being faced with migration. Our long term goal is to strengthen government's capacity whether through human resources, through funding or through the legislative and policy frame work. So they are able to respond to what is going on with migration and trafficking (interview March 10<sup>th</sup> 2006).

Polaris Project, Break the Chain Campaign, Vital Voices and the International Organization for Migration provide information to policy makers through various mechanisms. Polaris Project has a national program called the U.S Policy Program which is administered by three main people, one of the co-executive directors, the national program



coordinator, and a Senior Legal Fellow who is usually an attorney. The U.S. Policy Program provides a resource to the field about policy on trafficking whether it is federal, state or local policy. It also provides a direct resource for state legislators who are looking to pass trafficking laws. Polaris Project is able to provide a direct resource through the Policy Alert program. With Policy Alert, the U.S. Policy Program tracks what is happening with trafficking bills nation-wide. In order to make this possible, Polaris Project staff conduct internet research and have direct contact with the different political representatives in each state who are working on the trafficking bills.

Similarly, Vital Voices works closely with several UN agencies to help distribute a public service announcement in the United States to educate the public about the international trade in human beings and warn potential victims about the dangers of trafficking. Its newsletter is part of a public awareness campaign produced in partnership with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) for use internationally. The newsletter also keeps anti-trafficking advocates informed of important developments from around the world in the fight against trafficking. It reaches out to news organizations, media producers, members of Congress, U.S. government agencies, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations, the World Bank, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Union, other governments and other members that sign up to receive the alert.

Although the Break the Chain Campaign does not send out a newsletter it is also working to keep anti-trafficking policies and laws on the minds of policy makers. The Campaign has generated a number of major news reports including in *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times* as well as a number of radio and television programs. This method ensures that the issue of trafficking and worker exploitation remains clearly in the public view.

Another strategy the Polaris Project U.S. Policy Program uses to address institutionalization and implementation of anti-trafficking laws is the Comprehensive Model



Law they provide for states. The Comprehensive Model Law is offered to help criminal law policymakers at the state level address anti-trafficking policies and laws. The Polaris Project Model Law was written as a composite of the Department of Justice Model Law as well as the use of the best language from some of the states that have already passed trafficking bills. This Comprehensive Model Law is then sent to state legislators as a resource for them as they are considering formulating and passing an anti-trafficking law. If there is no pending trafficking bill in a state, Polaris Project contacts state legislators and asks them to consider a trafficking bill. After the bill has been introduced, Polaris Project begins a gap analysis process for current state codes to establish or refute the need for a new law.

Break the Chain Campaign coordinates with the Freedom Network. Within the Freedom Network there is a Legal Issues Legislative Advocacy Committee that consists of lawyers, who explore different policy implementation developments that are needed to better help trafficked individuals. The information they use is gleaned from the work they have done with over 1000 trafficked individuals with whom they have worked. Through the legislative advocacy committee, BTCC and other NGOs come together to develop ten to twenty talking points on issues that need to be addressed regarding trafficking laws and policies. The Freedom Network (USA) focuses on both national issues and state issues. BTCC also works with policy makers and other NGOs in terms of addressing changes within state legislature either in Maryland or in Virginia or perhaps in the Washington D.C.

Vital Voices coordinates international forums that engage civic leaders, policy makers, business leaders, and field practitioners in a dialogue. It promotes better policies through connecting practitioners and policymakers to ensure the full protection of women's rights. Through these forums Vital Voices also advocates for policy development and legislative change. These forums enable participants to share successful strategies, facilitate cross-cultural dialogue, and create valuable networks and partnerships with other individuals and organizations.



Since Polaris Project, Vital Voices and Break the Chain Campaign are restricted due to their 501(c) 3 classification, they can only serve a supporting role, providing resources and capacity. They cannot lobby for a particular law, policy or bill. According to the Internal Revenue Service website,

An organization will be regarded as attempting to influence legislation if it contacts, or urges the public to contact, members or employees of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting, or opposing legislation, or if the organization advocates the adoption or rejection of legislation (IRS Website, Retrieved March 5, 2006).

These organizations conduct educational meetings for legislators, policy makers and congressmen. They are invited to Capitol Hill, the State Department, Department of Justice and other governmental organizations to brief them and inform them on trafficking trends and the need for policy amendment. They facilitate discussions through forums.

As an intergovernmental organization, IOM is also restricted in its capability to lobby and advocate publicly for a particular law, policy or bill. Brahm (2005) indicates that the primary utility of IGOs lies in providing member states with a forum which they can use to negotiate conflicts. IOM conducts migration dialogues and regional government forums where governments can come together and talk about migration issues. Two examples of the regional forum are the Bali process that covers all of Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific, and the Pueblo process, which covers Central and North American countries. These forums help in facilitating dialogue and policy discussions. The Polaris Project has local chapters in Boston, Colorado, and Los Angeles. The chapters sent out over 776 letters to both the Federal Congress and state legislators about different bills being considered before the California legislation. In October 2005 as part of Vital Voices' Stop Human Trafficking Global Campaign, they sent an Action Alert to all Trafficking Alert readers to encourage people to send letters to their representatives, urging them to support the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2005. Break the Chain Campaign, through the



Freedom Network, worked closely with other NGOs to have the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) reauthorized it was signed on January 5, 2006 (interview February 16, 2006).

Polaris Project uses Rapid Response Research to provide this information and conducts research about current state codes. They also use the Rapid Response Resource to produce a document for law makers about recent trafficking cases. IOM also conducts research to focus attention on the problem of trafficking, raise general awareness, and provide governments and other actors with essential information for developing various laws, policies, and forms of intervention.

BTCC, Vital Voices Global Partnership, IOM and Polaris Project assisted in getting the TVPRA passed. Polaris Project accomplished this by having some of its chapters create sign-on letters to support various legislators. The organization was asked to provide research and resources to some of the Senators and Congressmen who are working on the legislation. Polaris Project served as a technical assistance resource to some of the lobbyists involved in the process. Lastly Polaris Project staff testified before a congressional committee on behalf of the End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act, which was later woven into the TVPRA.

BTCC partnered with other domestic worker communities to address state and national legislation and worked with other anti-trafficking organizations to comment on the United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 and Reauthorization of 2003.

Vital Voices Global Partnership and IOM provide a resource for dialogue by bringing embassies, government officials, NGOs, and others together to help different regions address trafficking. Their efforts contributed to the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 and the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act in 2003. Vital Voices Global Partnership and the International Organization for Migration were instrumental in the adoption of the UN Protocol to Prevent and Suppress Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children.



Finally, both Polaris Project and Vital Voices testify before state legislators regarding a prospective bill or policy. Although these four organizations are located in Washington, D.C and are working out of their D.C offices, it is important to note that they all have national and international partnerships. In order to contribute to effective anti-trafficking policies, they work with various types of organizations that differ in capacity and specialization.

### **Who the Organizations Negotiate and Meet With**

To be more effective in affecting anti-trafficking policy and in combating human trafficking, each of the participating organizations coordinates with other NGOs, IGOs, government officials, and governmental agencies. Polaris Project works in partnership with the United States government, the Japanese government, other NGOs, and IGOs. In the United States, in addition to working with the government, it works with other anti-trafficking agencies like Break the Chain Campaign, Boat People SOS, Vital Voices Global Partnership, and IOM. Polaris Project also coordinates with other NGOs that are working directly to influence state laws. There is usually one main NGO or a group of NGOs that is leading the effort to pass state laws. Polaris Project believes in the model of supporting local efforts, and its role is to be a technical support resource for local NGOs to help them lobby most effectively. Polaris Project is directly involved in any state where it provides the resources to those who are doing the direct work.

Similarly the Polaris Project Japan Campaign Against Trafficking (JCAT) staff have made submissions before hundreds of community members, students, and professionals, raising awareness about human trafficking in Japan. The JCAT provides information on trafficking in persons internationally and in Japan, JCAT also has worked with the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to provide Japanese translations and hotline numbers for customized Public Service Announcements on trafficking in Japan. JCAT is partnered with Social Venture Tokyo (SVT), and is also a member of the Japan Network against Trafficking



in Persons (JNATIP). It also works with the U.S. Department of State, the Yokohama Women's Association, and Oracle Japan.

Break the Chain Campaign coordinates with Freedom Network (USA), Global Rights, Polaris Project, African Immigrant and Refugee Foundation, Ayuda Inc., Boat People SOS, CASA of Maryland, Catholic Charities, Center for Multicultural Human Services, D.C. Employment Justice Center, Empowered Women International, Ethiopian Community Development Center, Institute for Policy Studies, International Organization for Migration, Project HOPE International, Shared Communities, Spanish Catholic Center, and Tahirih Justice Center. BTCC also collaborates with the U.S Government through the Department of Justice, Department of Labor, Department of State, FBI, Department of Immigration, U.S. Attorney's office in different jurisdictions, Capitol Hill, and various Senators and Representatives.

Vital Voices Global Partnership works with U.S. Members of Congress, U.S. government agencies and officials and NGOs from various parts of the world, for example, Japan, Hungary, Russia, Belarus, India, Russia, Uzbekistan, Taiwan and Cambodia. It pools resources from IGOs such as the United Nations and the International Organization for Migration.

To ensure accessibility of its services and programs, IOM works in cooperation with NGOs, faith based organizations, IGOs such as the United Nations, and 109 member states. Within countries, some examples of government agencies IOM works with include Ministries of National Security, Department of Immigration, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Ministries of Labor, Ministries of Women Affairs, and Ministries of Social Affairs. Basically, IOM works with most government ministries in any country, depending on the types of trafficking problem they are faced with. For instance, IOM is currently working with the UN office in New York examining how the office can be in a better position to address



the challenges in migration. There is a series of five meetings that IOM is convening focusing on different migration topics, including one on human trafficking.

Although it cannot directly lobby for anti-trafficking policies, Polaris Project, Break the Chain Campaign, Vital Voices Global Partnership and IOM still have the ability to influence anti-trafficking policies.

### **Having the Authority to Influence Policy**

Polaris Project, Break the Chain Campaign, Vital Voices and the International Organization for Migration strive to impact anti-trafficking policies and laws by using their knowledge base and experience to educate the public and policy makers. Given that they cannot lobby or advocate directly for a particular policy or bill, they employ other avenues to have an impact on the formulation and amendment of anti-trafficking policy. Polaris Project and BTCC provide direct care services to victims of trafficking; they then use direct field knowledge to provide government officials and policy makers' information regarding the effectiveness of current policies. According to the National Program Coordinator for Polaris Project,

We really have the authority to be able to be the voice of the victims that we have worked with. Because these policies ultimately are affecting victims and as long as the policies are affecting victims, and the victims are not speaking out for themselves the agencies that have the direct experience that work with the victims are able to be the effective voice that communicate the victims experiences and lots of legislators are very interested and curious to hear all the little nuances and the little subtle details that play themselves out in cases. (Interview February 28, 2006)

As the Northeast regional coordinator for the Freedom Network (USA), BTCC uses its status to provide training on anti-trafficking initiatives and worker exploitation. Through the Freedom Network it works with other NGOs to develop talking points which they then pass on to policy makers. BTCC also works very closely with senators and representatives to make legislative changes. It has established credibility through its unique capability to



provide both direct services and policy advocacy. The Executive Director of the Break the Chain Campaign indicated that,

Seeing as we are on the ground we don't analyze; what we do is experience. We experience the various laws and regulations that have been put out there. We have different experiences through our clients, we find out what works and what does not work and that is what we use as our basis to write our policy. So it is very much on the ground first hand experience and first hand knowledge with the laws rather than sitting around and looking at policy and analyzing it. A lot more of it is experiential wisdom. That is what we use our basis to educate others on policy. (Interview February 16, 2006)

As an international NGO, Vital Voices works directly in the international arena to have an impact on anti-trafficking policies. Vital Voices works towards its vision by training female leaders around the world to fight trafficking in their own countries. The organization hosts conferences, forums and briefings that allow the global community to explore solutions to common problems. It has established credibility through years of experience and successful initiatives. The Director of the Anti-Trafficking and Human Rights Program reports that:

We have authority but it is not by ourselves alone, we do have the power as a nongovernmental organization and as citizens have the power to change policy. And a lot of times through alliance with other organizations we are able to change [policy] as a stronger coalition. (Interview March 1, 2006)

As an IGO, IOM can not openly criticize a policy or government but they work internally within governments to influence that process. IOM has the authority to have an impact on anti- trafficking policies because its status as in IGO allows it to have direct input in policy formulation. The Director of Counter Trafficking Programs states that,

In every country part of our role is to assist the government and manage migration which includes any challenges related to trafficking. We do everything from write legislation for governments to help them establish standard operating procedures and train their staff on how to use them. Some governments ask us to provide particular services that they are not able to provide (Interview March 10, 2006).



IOM has also established itself as a credible organization; the mandate of the organization requires member states to support its programs and services. The organization works directly with the government to advocate for the best policies and legislative frameworks as well as implementation through the training of officials. It also conducts educational meetings for government officials. IOM offers an atmosphere of impartiality that enhances its effectiveness which facilitates cooperation among state members.

### **Strategies Used by the Organizations**

The organizations participating in this study use the raising of public awareness as one of their strategies to affect anti-trafficking policies. BTCC, Polaris Project and IOM sometimes work with the same clients to provide different services. In order to make this possible they must coordinate and cooperate with each other and with other organizations. Though BTCC limits direct client service to a 150 mile radius around Washington, D.C., it works with both national and international organizations to impact anti-trafficking policies. One underlying strategy used by the four participating organizations is to serve as a resource to both the general public and policy makers. The organizations make reports available on their websites; they also provide reports to policy makers in order to inform them about current trends regarding human trafficking. Vital Voices and Polaris Project have online research resources and online tool kits to enhance learning about human trafficking.

All four organizations conduct training for law enforcement providers to increase the prosecution rates, in order to make trafficking more visible, and to increase counter-trafficking capabilities. Polaris Project has expanded its services to reach Japan, through the JCAT program. In Japan they also make an effort to train law enforcement officers and policy makers.

While participating organizations in this study use some similar strategies in affecting anti-trafficking policies, they also have different strategies that are unique to each organization. BTCC is unique in providing legal services for victims of human trafficking.



BTCC also has a weekly Sunday meeting through PROMISE Central where domestic workers and victims of trafficking learn about U.S. labor laws. Finally, BTCC does not only work with victims of trafficking, but it also provides legal advice to workers that have had their rights violated. Like other participants in this study, BTCC aspires to educate the general public, it also has a specific strategy aimed at adolescents. Polaris Project, like BTCC and IOM, provides direct services to victims of human trafficking. Polaris Project, Vital Voices and IOM have programs that work toward international movement building while most of BTCC's work is currently focused on U.S. policies. Vital Voices is unique in training young female leaders from various countries to raise awareness about human trafficking. Both Vital Voices and Polaris Project raise funds for trafficking victims through online projects and they also send out periodic newsletters to their partners and to the general public.

IOM is unlike the other participating organizations because it cannot openly criticize a policy or bill. To overcome this restriction, it works privately with government officials to make an impact on anti-trafficking policies. IOM writes policies and legislation for governments and trains governments to increase their response capacity to trafficking. IOM is currently the only anti-trafficking organization that provides a return and reintegration option to trafficked victims. All of the four organizations participating in this study conduct research and make this research available to the general public and directly to governments.

Despite the fact that these organizations are different in organizational structure and size, they share similarities in their approaches to anti-trafficking policies. This chapter indicates that they not only have slightly different approaches, but they also work together to affect policies. These organizations realize that without cooperation, making an impact in the policy arena is impossible if they are working alone.



## CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION

### Summary of Findings

This study was able to answer the four research questions posed. The international organizations participating in this study work with various types of organizations to make an impact on anti-trafficking policies. They coordinate with other NGOs, and IGOs, as well as legislators and government agencies to affect policies. They hold educational seminars, lectures and briefings to inform policy makers of the implications of current anti-trafficking laws, such as the need for revisions of policies or the need to create new policies. As organizations that provide direct care to victims of trafficking, IOM, Polaris Project and BTCC act as the voices of victims.

These organizations work with victims of human trafficking, and also work with policy makers. They use their unique position to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-trafficking policies. They also serve as a feedback mechanism to policy makers, by advising them on how current policies and law enforcement trainings could be improved and implemented effectively.

### Implications and Recommendations

A major finding of this study is that international organizations must partner with other organizations at both the national and international level to effectively address the issue of human trafficking and have an impact on anti-trafficking policies. Human trafficking is not unique to a location; it is a global issue. In order to address this issue the participating organizations have partnered with other organizations at the local, national and international level. All of the participants of this study are restricted from lobbying directly for a policy or bill; they coordinated with government agencies, NGOs, IGOs and political representatives to affect anti-trafficking policies. Three of the four organizations also partner to provide direct services to the victims of human trafficking. Sometimes Polaris Project, Break the



Chain Campaign and International Organization for Migration provide different services to the same client at any given time, thus they cooperate and share information.

Trafficking is not restricted by national boundaries. In order for policy formulation to be successful, organizations need to work together. World politics today is no longer about states acting alone, but is a network of a large number of actors including NGOs, IGOs and governmental organizations. All these organizations contribute to different steps in policy formulation:

- The recognition of the problem;
- Specification of procedures by which the problem is to be addressed;
- Formulation of policy alternatives;
- Consideration of those alternatives;
- Decision on a policy;
- Implementation;
- Evaluation of the consequences of the policy
- Decision on its future (Soroos, 1990, p.120).

The four participating organizations in this study assist governments in recognizing human trafficking and the scope of human trafficking. They are involved in conducting and participating in educational meetings and forums. Vital Voices and Polaris Project also testify before US Congress. Vital Voices and IOM host forums and seminars that allow policy makers and the anti-trafficking community to come together and discuss the consequences of current policies, the need for new policy, and policy alternatives that can be reached. Polaris Project and BTCC also participate in these forums. IOM assists governments directly in policy formulation and strategies for direct efficient implementation. Through its capacity building, research and policy development on human trafficking and seminars and policy programs, IOM works towards both short term and long term goals.

Polaris Project through its U.S. Policy Program assists in developing policy alternatives by sending the Polaris Project Comprehensive Model Law to State Legislators as a resource for them as they are considering formulating and passing an anti-trafficking law. After the bill has been introduced, Polaris Project conducts a gap analysis process for current



state codes to establish or refute the need for a new law. BTCC coordinates with Freedom Network (USA) to explore different policy implementation developments that are needed to better help trafficked individuals. Though Polaris Project and BTCC focus predominantly on national policies and laws, they have also formed partnerships with international organizations and officials. BTCC works with Global Rights to brainstorm and explore creative ways to address international issues and treaties. Polaris Project is working closely through the JCAT office with the Japanese government to develop anti-trafficking policies and programs. As organizations that provide direct service to victims of trafficking, IOM, BTCC, and Polaris Project have the opportunity to implement policies and evaluate their impact. Through the forums, briefings, and educational meetings, these organizations can effectively convey their findings to legislators, IGOs and NGOs. Policy formulation also needs the direct input of the individuals affected; BTCC, Polaris Project and IOM serve as the voices of their clients.

Although all these organizations are working to influence policies at the national and international level, their influence can be increased and more effective at all levels by creating public awareness of the issue of human trafficking. Trafficking is a continuum with international, national, state and local participants. Laws can be instituted when legislatures are aware of the issue. This can be achieved by having local chapters in each state distribute information in public places, such as libraries, hotels, motels, grocery stores, etc. The local chapters can also run seminars for the general public. For there to be a large impact on anti-trafficking policies the public needs to demand change by owning the problem; still today the average community member does not know very much about human trafficking. The Polaris Project National Program Coordinator indicates that,

In terms of how involved is the community, I would still say very little. Right now the community does not own the issue of trafficking. The people who own the issue of trafficking are Polaris, and other anti-trafficking agencies like Break the Chain, Boat People SOS. We all care about trafficking, but is



the African American Church talking about trafficking? Is the Korean Church talking about trafficking? Is the general Latino community talking about trafficking? I would say not as much. So what needs to happen is we need to transfer the ownership of the issue from these elite, specialized, professionalized anti-trafficking agencies to general community members, so they are the ones who grow impassioned and outraged and willing to get involved and willing to put pressure and do some community organizing to make sure that this issue is on the map (Interview, June 14, 2005).

To transfer ownership of the issue of trafficking to the public, the organizations need to take a more grassroots approach. Secondly, while all these organizations are doing an excellent job of educating legislators on the issue of trafficking, there also needs to be a raising of awareness of law enforcement through training nationally. National training would allow law enforcement officers in states to recognize the act of trafficking; this would lead to more prosecution of traffickers. Legislators would also be able to recognize the need for more trafficking laws. Finally, creation of state laws makes more resources available to victims of trafficking. Currently Polaris Project conducts training for the law enforcement community in the North Eastern part of the United States and in Japan through the JCAT program. IOM trains law enforcement officials internationally.

### **Strengths and Weaknesses of the Study and Future Research**

This study allowed me to obtain a deeper understanding of how international organizations work to affect policies. Studying four different organizations with detailed understanding of their restrictions, capabilities, goals, and activities has provided insight into how these organizations makes an impact on both national and international policies. By understanding the steps these organizations take to impact policy, it would be easier to know how they can be more effective and what steps still need to be taken to improve their current approach.

My study is an exploratory, qualitative study, focused only on what four organizations are doing to affect anti-trafficking policies. I did not investigate the



effectiveness of the various approaches used by them (and other organizations like them) to affect policies. Future research is needed to include a larger sample of organizations and a quantitative element in order to investigate the effectiveness of approaches to policy advocacy. Quantitative research such as a survey, using a more structured questionnaire where resulting data can be analyzed statistically, and a larger sample would provide a more general view of anti-trafficking agencies. One strategy would be to study the effectiveness of the anti-trafficking organizations' overall intervention.

In the initial interview process the organizations were asked to evaluate their current anti-trafficking interventions. BTCC, Vital Voices, Polaris Project, and IOM rated their anti-trafficking program as excellent. A more extensive study could provide indicators of the effectiveness and efficiency of these programs. There is also a need for a comprehensive survey of the victims of trafficking. Studies should be done to provide more accurate data regarding the status and number of trafficking victim in the U.S. and the international community. Such studies also could explore supplier and consumer nations.

The sampling method for this study was purposive sampling, a non-random method. For my study the sample of organizations was required to meet certain criteria—they had to be involved in the anti-trafficking movement at the international level and they had to be located in the Washington, D.C. area. For future studies to ensure generalizability, a more random and larger sample size from different locations would be needed. For a more diverse sample and richer data, interviews with different employees from within the organizations should be conducted.

By understanding the roles of anti-trafficking organizations in affecting policies, organizations would be able to measure their effectiveness and take action to improve these policies. Effective policies will help increase both awareness of the problem, prosecution of traffickers, and ultimately reduce the incidence of human trafficking.



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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix I: Letter of Introduction**

Simisola Fasehun  
4015 Hyde Avenue  
Ames, Iowa.  
50010

May 11, 2005

RE: Human Trafficking Project

Dear Participant:

My name is Simisola Fasehun. I am working on my Masters' degree in International Development Studies at Iowa State University. I am currently working on my Thesis entitled "The role of international organizations in affecting policy for the elimination of human trafficking." My major professor is Jill Bystydzienski, Director of The Women Studies Program at Iowa State University and Sociology Professor. You may contact her at [bystydj@iastate.edu](mailto:bystydj@iastate.edu).

I would like to arrange a time to interview representatives of your organization who have worked on the issue of human trafficking. In gaining information from representatives I hope to contribute to the future improvement of programs for eliminating and preventing human trafficking. I would also like to learn about the important work your agency does. I will be in Washington DC from May 30, 2005 until August 10, 2005.

I am available via e-mail at [simi@iastate.edu](mailto:simi@iastate.edu), or anytime at 515-451-3110. Thank you for your future assistance. I look forward to your early reply.

Sincerely,

Simisola Fasehun

## **Appendix II: List of Prospective Organizations**

1. Ayuda
2. Project hope international
3. Human Rights Watch
4. Free the Slave
5. Global Rights: Partners for Justice
6. The International Organization for Migration
7. Institute for Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign
8. Polaris Project
9. Vital Voices Global Partnership
10. Amnesty International
11. World Health Organization
12. International Labor Organization
13. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



### **Appendix III: List of Organizations that Agreed to Participate in the Study**

1. Polaris Project
2. Vital Voices Global Partnership
3. Institute for Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign
4. The International Organization for Migration

## Appendix IV: Questionnaire

1. Name of Organization
2. Position of respondent
3. What is the agency's mission statement?
4. How is the organization structured?
  - a. Board structure
  - b. Director
  - c. Field Workers
5. What is the area of coverage?
  - a. North America
  - b. South America
  - c. Africa
  - d. Asia
  - e. Middle East
  - f. Pacific
  - g. Europe
  - h. Russia
  - i. Former Soviet Block
6. How is your agency funded?
7. Is it tax exempt?
  - a. Government subsidy
  - b. Private and public donors
  - c. Service charges e.g. Counseling victims
  - d. Membership fees
8. What are your major areas of activities?



- a. Human rights violation
  - b. Human trafficking
  - c. Environmental Issues
  - d. Child Labor
  - e. Refugee/Migration
9. What is your agency's main focus?
10. What is the current ranking of human trafficking?
11. How does your agency define human trafficking?
12. What do you think are the major causes of human trafficking?
13. Based on your available records, can you give the geographical distribution of trafficking worldwide?
14. How is your agency addressing the issue of human trafficking?
15. What is the major area of your agency's intervention?
  - a. That is, are you focusing on Advocacy, counseling, policing and other forms of intervention?
16. How do you rate your performance in the above intervention:
  - a. Excellent
  - b. Very good
  - c. Good
  - d. Average
  - e. Poor
17. What is the geographical/political distribution of your intervention?
18. Are you restricted to one location?
19. Please discuss factors you consider important in militating against the effectiveness of your intervention?
20. Does funding affect the effectiveness of your intervention? Please discuss

21. How can you improve the effectiveness of your intervention?
22. Can you identify strengths, weakness, and threats to your intervention?
23. What is the influence of international politics and policy decisions on the effectiveness of your intervention?
24. How does your agency affect policies on human trafficking?
25. How do international policies affect your agency?



## ***Appendix V: Supplementary Questionnaires***

### **Supplementary Questions for Vital Voices**

1. What specific organizations does Vital Voices work with?
2. Does Vital Voices engage in any negotiations concerning policies with these organizations?
  - a. How do they engage in dialogue to come to an agreement?
3. Vital voices works with governments and civil society;
  - a. How do you negotiate, what is the dynamic of the relationship?
  - b. What governments does Vital Voices work with and what groups or organizations in the realm of civil society does Vital Voices work with, e.g. NGOs?
4. Vital Voices focuses on public awareness, policy formulation and analysis; please elaborate on the process of policy formulation and analysis.
  - a. What is the process?
5. When an analysis is completed, where does this analysis go?
6. What do you use the findings and results of your analysis for?
7. Do you share this information with other organizations?
8. A weakness that was mentioned is the lack of dialogue between civil society and governments. How is Vital Voices addressing this issue?
9. The impact of international politics and policy is significant on the effectiveness of your intervention; can you please elaborate on this?
10. Does Vital Voices have the authority to lobby for a policy?

11. Do you have the authority to influence policy directly? Or indirectly? If indirectly, how is that done?
12. Are you working on international agreements to prevent and stop trafficking? Please discuss.



## **Supplementary Questionnaire for Polaris Project**

1. One of the methods of the Polaris Project in addressing human trafficking is through the institutionalization and implementation of laws. How does Polaris Project accomplish this process?
2. What role did you play in the passing of the TVPRA?
3. What organizations does Polaris Project directly work with?
4. How do you affect international policies and laws?
5. Are there specific organizations you work with to address international laws and policies?
6. Polaris Project has an office in Japan, what is the relationship with the office in Japan? Are there frequent meetings?
7. How did you choose that location for a second office?
8. Does Polaris Project work with the Japanese government to institutionalize and implement anti-trafficking laws and policies? With other organizations?
9. As a 501(c) 3 organization Polaris Project cannot lobby for laws to be passed. How do you overcome this restriction?
10. Do you meet with senators, representatives and lobbyists?
11. Polaris Project analyzes laws and policies
  - a. What is the process?
  - b. Where does this analysis go?
  - c. What do you use the findings and results of your analysis for?
  - d. Do you share this information with other organizations?

12. What organizations are you trying to reach with this information?
13. One militating factor against effectiveness of your intervention is the lack of international policies and laws, how is Polaris Project addressing this problem?
14. Overall does Polaris Project have the authority to affect anti-trafficking laws and policies? If yes, what is that authority? Do you have backing of governments, etc.?



## **Supplementary Questions for The Institute For Policy Studies: Break the Chain Campaign**

1. What is the Break the Chain Campaign doing in regards to policy development and policy implementation?
2. Do your policies that you are trying to develop have international perspective or are they region specific?
3. One of the services you provide to your clients is the choice to return home; can you elaborate on this process? Do you work directly with the client's country government to ensure a safe return home?
4. How do you make this possible?
5. What laws and treaties do you use as a guideline?
6. Break the Chain Campaign works closely with Senators and organizations to make legislative changes; can you elaborate on this process?
7. What organizations does the campaign work with?
8. You spend time commenting on and drafting legislation; please can you tell me more about this process?
9. When the analysis is completed, where does the analysis go?
10. After experiencing these laws and policies, who do you share this information with?
11. How do you send this information out?
12. Do you meet with senators, representatives and lobbyists?
13. What do you use the findings and results of your analysis for?

14. Do you feel like you have the ability and authority to influence policy? If yes, why?

How specifically do you do it?

15. How do you overcome restrictions such as your 501(c) classification?

16. What other organizations do you work and negotiate with? How do you dialogue to come to an agreement?

17. What types of organizations are they?

18. Does the Freedom network work internationally?

19. Does Global rights work internationally? Do they affect international agreements, laws and policies?

20. How do international policies affect your agency?

21. How is your organizations structured? The Institute for Policy Studies board of directors governs the Campaign, what is the hierarchical distribution? E.g. Chairman e.t.c.

22. How large is your staff? Are there members of staff on the Board? How many fellows and volunteers do you have?



## **Supplementary Questions for International Organization for Migration**

1. How does your agency affect policies on human trafficking? Please elaborate on the process.
2. One of your strategies is helping governments to improve their legal systems and technical capacities to counter trafficking. Can you elaborate on this process?
3. How do international policies affect your agency?
4. What is the influence of international politics and policy decisions on the effectiveness of your intervention?
5. Can you discuss more about your policy development process?
6. Please discuss IOM's process of Capacity Building, Seminars and Policy, Research and Return/Reintegration available to clients.
7. What organizations does IOM directly work with? How does it negotiate with organizations to institutionalize and implement laws and policies? How does it dialogue to come to an agreement?
8. Members are required to financially support the mandate of the organization, how else does IOM receive funding?
9. How do you make use of the research you conduct?
10. What organizations do you share this information with?
11. You indicated that IOM helped in lobbying and advocating to get the UN protocol put into place, can you elaborate on this process?

## **Appendix VI: Informed Consent Document**

Title of Study: The Role of International Organizations in Affecting Policies for the Elimination of Human Trafficking.

Investigators: [*Simisola Fasehun, BA. Principal Investigator, Jill Bystydzienski PhD Major Professor; Sedahlia Crase PhD, Committee Member; Yong Lee PhD, Committee Member.*]

This is a research study. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate. Please feel free to ask questions at any time.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this study is to explore how international organizations are affecting anti-trafficking policies. More specifically, I intend to focus on four organizations to examine what they do, who they meet and negotiate with, whether they have any authority to make policy changes, and what strategies they use.

You are being invited to participate in this study because you are an international organization that works to eliminate human trafficking.

### **DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES**

If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will last for one 30minute interview. During the study you may expect the following study procedures to be followed. You will be expected to respond to a questionnaire that will be recorded on an audio tape. The audio tapes will be erased when the thesis is completed. During the interview “You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable.”

### **RISKS**



While participating in this study you may experience the following risks: there are no foreseeable risks at this time from participating in this study.

## BENEFITS

If you decide to participate in this study there may be no direct benefit to you. It is hoped that the information gained in this study will benefit society in the following ways. In order to develop appropriate policies on trafficking it is essential to document the role of various institutions in policy development to combat trafficking. This study concentrates on identifying the role of international organizations in affecting policy for elimination of human trafficking. By understanding their roles and strategies, it is hoped that subsequent studies can recommend how effective such organizations are and how their effectiveness can be improved.

## COSTS AND COMPENSATION

You will not have any costs from participating in this study. You will not be compensated for participating in this study.

## PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. If you decide to not participate in the study or leave the study early, it will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

## CONFIDENTIALITY

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. However, federal

government regulatory agencies and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

To ensure confidentiality to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken the location of the organizations will remain confidential. Information gathered will be used for this study only. The audio tape will be kept in a locked cabinet, after the thesis is complete, the tapes will be erased. If the results are published, your identity will remain confidential.

## QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

For further information about the study contact Simisola Fasehun, [simi@iastate.edu](mailto:simi@iastate.edu), 515-451-3110; Jill Bystydzienski, [bystydj@iastate.edu](mailto:bystydj@iastate.edu), 515-294-9733.

If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact Ginny Austin Eason, IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, [austingr@iastate.edu](mailto:austingr@iastate.edu), or Diane Ament, Director, Office of Research Assurances (515) 294-3115, [dament@iastate.edu](mailto:dament@iastate.edu).

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## SUBJECT SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered. You will receive a copy of the signed and dated written informed consent prior to your participation in the study.



Subject's Name (printed) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Subject's Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

#### INVESTIGATOR STATEMENT

I certify that the participant has been given adequate time to read and learn about the study and all of their questions have been answered. It is my opinion that the participant understands the purpose, risks, benefits and the procedures that will be followed in this study and has voluntarily agreed to participate.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature of Person Obtaining  
Informed Consent)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)